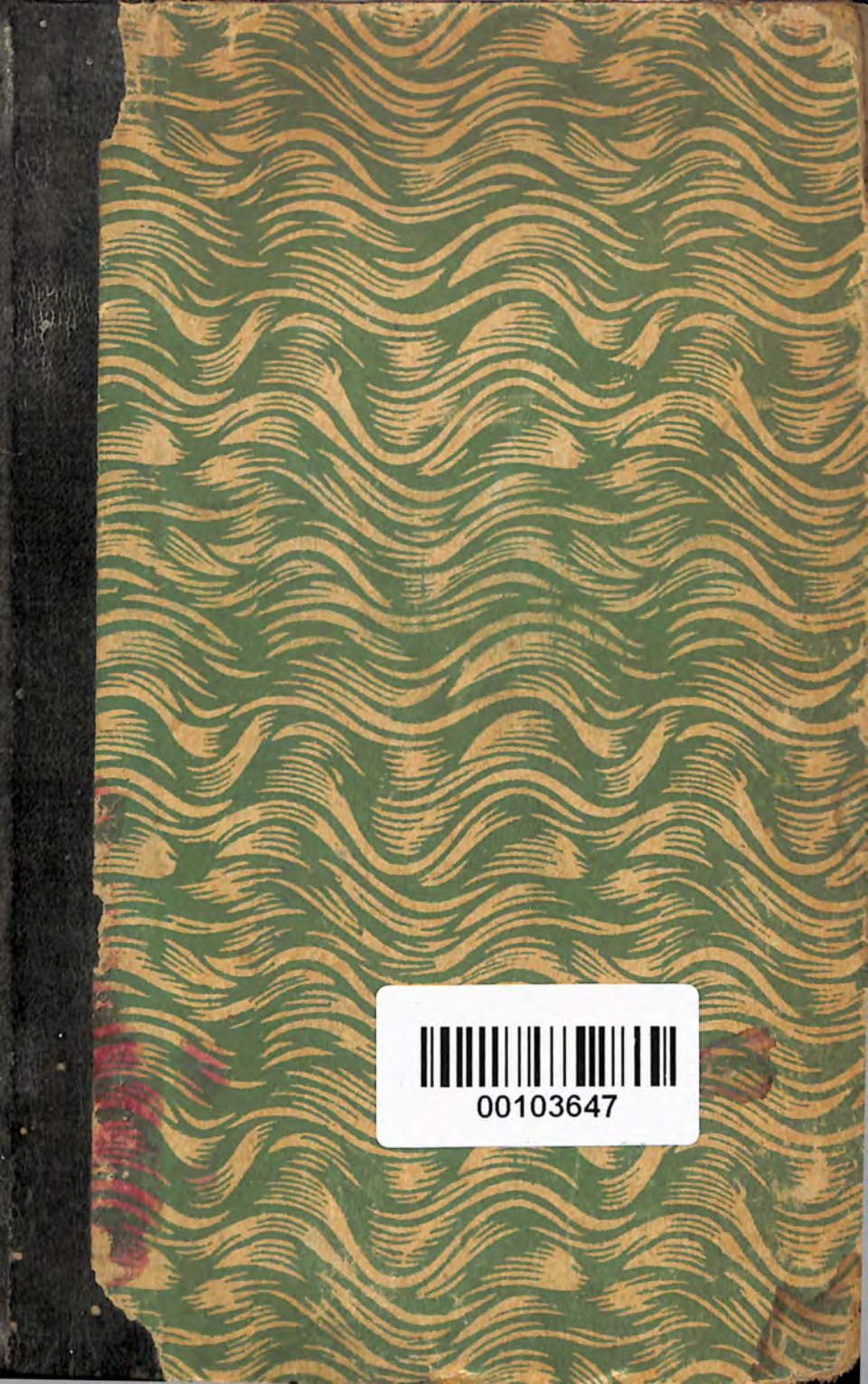
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CHRISTIANITY

AND

MANKIND,

THEIR BEGINNINGS AND PROSPECTS.

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BY

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COLLEGIT RECENSUIT ILLUSTRAVIT C. C. J. BUNSEN.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

THE

LITURGICAL ELEMENTS

AND

THE GENUINE LITURGIES OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES.

It is impossible to enter into the sanctuary of Christian devotion, and undertake a historical review of the sublime thought of worship through eighteen centuries, without feeling overawed by the magnitude and holiness of the subject. I approach this sacred task not without long preparation, nor without a deep feeling of responsibility; but without fear. For I am conscious of entering into the precincts of that sanctuary with unfeigned reverence, and with no other object than that of pointing out the world-historical importance of that idea of Christian worship, the general picture of which I have attempted to draw in the Second Volume of Hippolytus and his Age. I do so, moreover, with sincere charity towards all Christian creeds. From that point of view, all party animosities appear as senseless as they are culpable. It is as untrue and unmeaning, as it is unworthy and odious, to attempt to explain by outward circumstances, or to attribute to base personal

motives, great spiritual movements, and to look upon liturgical forms, which have exercised, and are exercising, a supreme power over millions and millions of civilized people, and which are objects of respect and awe to nations, and spiritual guides to noble and holy minds, as upon incoherent materials and superstitious formularies. But, besides, I believe that the true Christian philosopher cannot but discern, through all the deviations and all the aberrations in that history of the religious mind which he has to observe and to record during fifteen centuries, and through all the bitter contention and conflicting anathemas of priests and theologians which assail him on his way of peace, one sublime and original thought, which even in dark misunderstanding and in deep corruption, constitutes the redeeming feature and the Divine power in the minds of the believers. This thought is nothing less than that great fundamental Christian idea of the reunion of the mind of mortal man with God, by thankful sacrifice of self, in life, and, therefore, also in worship. The critically sifted and restored documents which I subjoin, speak that language with touching simplicity and irresistible energy. In presenting them and these outlines of their history, I trust that the views here expressed are fully borne out by the facts; and I am sure that, whatever defects may be discovered in the following sheets, they are not the offspring of party spirit, or of any selfish motive, but owing to general human imperfection, and to my own personal inability of doing full justice to so grand a subject, never yet treated with philosophical criticism, as a part of the history of Christianity and of the human mind.

Finally, I trust that the study of the Liturgical Elements anterior to any liturgical composition, will dispose the sacerdotal party to a less prejudiced and more critical consideration of the whole subject. The text of these Elementa Liturgica opens therefore our records.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

TO THE

RELIQUÆ LITURGICÆ.

THE collection of documents contained in the "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ" exhibits all the ancient sacramental texts of the East, and the few relics respecting the Eucharistic Service of the Churches of Africa, Gaul, and Spain (with which those of Alemannia, of Great Britain, and of Ireland were identical), of the second, third, and fourth centuries, and of the early part of the fifth. As to the Church of Rome, they naturally go down to the end of the sixth century, or the time of Gregory the Great. The general principles of historical criticism, according to which this collection has been framed, will be sufficiently explained in the following pages. Having made them the basis of an extensive "Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ universæ," thirty-five years ago, I have found them constantly confirmed by my subsequent studies; and I feel sure that I cannot be wrong in the principal points, because philological facts, historical criticism, and philosophical research have all led me to the same result. Whoever follows the method I have adopted, will be able to find his way through the sixty or more Liturgies of the East. He will be able to explain the genuine and ancient texts, without corrupting or mutilating them: to understand the passages of the Fathers, without perverting them: and, finally, Scripture itself, without misinterpreting or nullifying its sacred words. By this critical process, the origin and development of the sacred forms of our worship are cleared up. We see what caused them to be misunderstood in the dark ages, to be corrupted by ritualists,

and perverted by scholastics; and finally, why the writers of neither of the two great parties, during the last three centuries, have been able to make them agree with their systems. Whatever defects there may be in this first attempt to apply the acknowledged principles of general historical criticism to the ancient Liturgies, they cannot be corrected but by following the course which I have pointed out, and by the adoption of the method of the critical historical school, which I have employed in order to discover the truth. That method will itself correct the errors committed by those who adopt it.

The genuine Liturgies of the ancient Church which have come down to us, exhibit the order and mode in which that mystery of the Christian faith, the Eucharist, was celebrated. They are not speculative inventions, but the sacred voices of the Christian people spread over the globe, who are using them still, although in a corrupted state, in their worship. The most ancient and the most numerous of them belong to the Churches of Syria and of Egypt, and are the organs of the majority of all Christians throughout the world. They are the sacred books of noble tribes and nations whose biblical knowledge and Christian wisdom are mostly concentrated in what those rites inculcate, whose only remaining sanctuary is the Lord's table, and whose only fellowship left on earth, beyond their domestic ties, is the communion which unites them round that altar. These Liturgies, for upwards of seventeen hundred years, have proclaimed, in the most solemn manner, an uninterrupted faith in the holiest truths of mankind, from the once blessed shores of the Mediterranean to the coasts of India, and from the hills of Palestine and the plains of Syria to the mountains of Assyria and of Abyssinia. They are the heirloom of the sixty millions of that Slavonic race to whom the future of the world must sooner or later come in Asia and Europe, whenever the Germanic nations shall cease to hold the balance there. Their origin is a deep mystery to the people who use them, and even to their priesthood; for, in spite of numberless additions and considerable changes, none of their theological systems exactly correspond with those sacred words and rites. They are held sacred as the inspiration of holy men,

who received them from the lips of Christ's disciples themselves, and who developed them under the guidance of the Spirit of God, which is given to the Church. Under any other guidance than that of the Spirit of God, they would, with the Apostolical constitutions, have formed our Bible.

The various national Liturgies of the East were gradually suppressed by the Byzantine Church, and those of the West almost destroyed by the Latin Church of Rome, from a love both of uniformity and of power. The Reformation found the Latin Liturgy almost as much involved in fables as were the Eastern. Scholasticism had besides constructed out of the ritual books, as it had out of Scripture, a system incompatible with the text, and irreconcilable with history. The reformers approached this system with evangelical faith, and with the torch of biblical criticism and ecclesiastical history. This great movement of the sixteenth century led, therefore, to controversies, which were at the beginning met by a remorseless repetition of old fables, and by an indiscriminate defence of all the interpolations and forgeries. The Romanist divines, in the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, feeling that this ground was no longer tenable, set up a new system of defence, and instituted some really learned, and to a certain degree critical, researches. An immense but crude mass of documents, and a much greater one of commentaries, were brought forward, in order to show that the ancient Churches were right, on the whole, against the Protestants. These texts, united in one work, would occupy at least six quarto volumes, and the commentaries about sixty. The historian who looks with a critical eye at the state of those texts and their boundless varieties; at the mysterious obscurity of the comments, and the absolute groundlessness of their assumptions, will at first sight see no hope of ever unravelling that confusion, and of being able to throw light upon that utter darkness, which most of those writers seem to have intended rather to increase than to dispel. In the first place, almost all the names which these Liturgies bear, are entirely fabulous, from those of the Apostles down to those of Basil and Chrysostom, if it be meant to represent these fathers as the authors of the

texts which are now used under their names. The confusion, indeed, is so great, that even Liturgies bearing the name of the same author differ entirely from each other. The consequence is, that one school of the last century has declared them unworthy of any historical authority whatever, even for the fourth and fifth centuries; while the other professes to be able to trace them back to the second, and even to the time of the Apostles. In our days, gross ignorance having come over the Gallican clergy, once the most learned and enlightened, and general indifference to this subject having pervaded the Protestant divines and critics, a medieval reaction has sprung up (and that not among Romanists alone), the representatives of which, half credulous, half hypocrical, and always uncritical, ask very naïvely: "Why should these Liturgies not have been written by the Apostles?"

When the continuator of Arnauld's remarkable work on the Perpetuity of the Faith of the Church in the Eucharist, Renaudot, the most learned and critical among the Romanist writers on the Oriental Liturgies, but a very prejudiced and bitter controversialist, abandoned the hopeless task of maintaining ancient prejudices, he took his stand upon the middle of the fifth century, and established a principle which, as far as it is founded on facts, is an undeniable critical truth. He says, that, as the Oriental communities who did not accept the decrees of the Councils of Ephesus (441) and of Chalcedon (450), use essentially the same Liturgies as the orthodox Churches of those countries, it is natural to conclude that these Liturgies must be anterior to the respective epochs of their separation. This is so true in the abstract, that it is almost a truism. But the historical critic must move the previous question: How far do the rituals of both parties really agree? And here we find, first of all, that we must discard the whole of the first half of the Liturgies, as they now stand. For in that part of the rituals which precedes the "Sursum corda," or the Preface of the Eucharistic Prayer of Thanksgiving, the Liturgies in question do not agree at all. The claim upon us to admit the identity, and consequently the antiquity, of those Liturgies is, therefore, confessedly reduced to the second part, the Missa

Fidelium, beginning with that solemn and primitive mutual exhortation, or form of Apostolic blessing. Renaudot has left us in the dark upon this point. He asserts the substantial identity, but takes care not to put his assertion to the test by showing their identity in detail, which can only be done by comparing the corresponding texts placed in parallel columns.

Whether, therefore, that principle be a truism or a fallacy, the general view from which Renaudot starts, as to the age of those as wonderfully analogous as strikingly different Liturgies, is that of a startling scepticism, which, if honestly followed up, resolves itself into a demand upon us to believe in a miracle of which Renaudot's assumption creates the necessity. He assumes that the Prayer of Consecration, the nucleus of the whole Liturgy, was not committed to writing at the time of Basilius, about 370. If such were really the case, it would be impossible to explain this wonderful analogy, and in part really literal agreement, amongst the Liturgies; and the boast of the ancient Fathers, as to the Apostolicity of the Liturgies of their Churches, would become an empty sound. No Protestant critical writer ever said anything half so sceptical, and no uncritical Roman writer ever drew more largely upon our credulity. But on what does that startling assertion rest? On a celebrated passage in the treatise of St. Basilius on the Holy Spirit, a passage which I have given *in extenso* in the "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ," at the head of the testimonies respecting the Liturgy of St. Basilius. Any one who reads this passage with the context, will see at once that the words in question are nothing but a part of one and the same argument. The argument is, that the universal Church holds many customs to be Apostolical, sacred, necessary, and binding, although they are not recorded as being Divine precepts. "Where," he asks, "is it written that the Catechumen is to be immersed thrice? And where is the Invocation prescribed, which we use at the celebration of the Eucharist? Nobody can cite the name of the person who wrote it down." This argument, therefore, does not imply that an Apostolical formula of Invocation was transmitted to the Church universal: indeed, this would be an absurdity in itself, inasmuch as no such identical formula

exists. It simply asserts that the universal custom of using the Invocation Prayer before the Communion was not based upon any written precept of Christ or of the Apostles: and still, says Basil, it is never omitted, but considered as a necessary part of the Eucharistic Service.

Thus Renaudot's whole system rests upon two fallacies. As to his merit, it consists in two points: first, in his having brought together a great mass of Oriental Liturgies from their native sources, not from the "corrected" texts of the Propaganda; and, secondly, in his having endeavoured to class them according to the Patriarchates. But his collection has not exhausted all the texts existing in manuscripts, nor does it even give faithfully all that is printed; for instance, it omits (on purpose) the most ancient Ethiopic Liturgy, published by Ludolf. Nor has his historical classification been very successful. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that he contributed with Bona and Lebrun to put a stop to the falsifying system of the Roman writers, and to their ludicrously absurd assumptions, which otherwise would long ago have claimed authority and pious faith.

His work appeared in 1716, five and twenty years after the great Ludolf had opened the treasures of Abyssinia (1691). About the same time, Bingham, a Protestant divine, a man of learning and judgment, of Christian candour and rare moderation, undertook, in his great work of the "Origines," to establish a sounder method for the historical criticism of the earliest Liturgies. Bingham is the most distinguished Christian antiquarian, and, on the whole, not only the most learned, but also the fairest of all apologetical writers; but he certainly is neither a philosopher nor a historian. He was struck by Renaudot's bold idea of the Liturgies not having been committed to writing before the end of the fourth century, and speaks of it as a "not improbable" assumption, because he finds it a useful weapon both against Nonconformists and against Romanists (xv. 5. 3.). In his own work, however, he takes care not to follow the French priest on his dark and adventurous road, and confines himself to single positive researches. By this method he certainly has established for ever the antiquity of

the principal parts of the ancient Liturgies, and proved that the important elements of the Eucharistic Service were already, at a very early period, considered to be of Apostolic origin. Unfortunately, he took for the basis of his learned commentary an imaginary Liturgy, the interpolated text contained in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. In doing this, he deviated from the strictly critical method which he generally applies with so much success. Still his researches on the single parts of the Christian worship, and his faithful, although undigested, collection of the passages relative to the Liturgy which are found in the works of St. Chrysostom, are to this day the best groundwork for historical criticism, and infinitely superior to what the Benedictine Editors of that Father have said on the subject, although Binterim refers to them, ignoring Bingham.

The historical method has been for the first time adopted, though timidly and imperfectly, by the German Bingham, Augusti, the learned Protestant antiquarian, in the twelve volumes of his honest and highly instructive "Denkwürdigkeiten" (1817—1831); and followed, although with great prejudices, by the Romanist Binterim, in his "Denkwurdigkeiten" (14 volumes, 1825—1833).

As to the texts of the Liturgies, Joseph Aloysius Assemani (the nephew) published, in the years 1749 to 1755, his huge collection, which made confusion worse confounded. During the remainder of the eighteenth century, no Romanist or Protestant writer carried on any critical research worth mentioning into the Eastern and African Liturgies, the texts of which have thus been left incomplete and crude, and their criticism at the same point as at that early stage.

It is only within the last twenty years that two English writers, have taken up the subject with great earnestness: the Rev. William Palmer, in the first volume of his "Origines Liturgicæ" (1832); and the Rev. John Mason Neale, in the first two volumes of his "History of the Holy Greek Church" (1850). The former of these works in particular, is full of learned and ingenious remarks on the connexion and families of the ancient Liturgies. The author proves that many of them contain the same liturgical elements, and sometimes in

the same, or almost the same, order. But when from these coincidences he draws the conclusion, that the text of the Liturgy of a given Church represents, on the whole, a very early period, because it contains materials and elements of an early date, and that two Liturgies in which certain analogies occur are essentially the same, this appears rather a hasty proceeding, and is not a step in advance in historical criticism. Renaudot was satisfied with making an assertion; Mr. Palmer draws conclusions from it, as if it were proved. His merit is the better establishment of liturgical families according to the leading Churches of Christendom. Beyond this point he is unable to prove anything but what was acknowledged before; namely, that liturgical formularies existed at a very early period, and that there was much analogy between them.

The only admissible method seems to be, to endeavour, first of all, to rise from the indefiniteness of Renaudot's fundamental thesis to a precise historical statement, from the vague region of probabilities to history's own domain, that of facts. The theory of probabilities is perfectly inapplicable to historical subjects, as long as there are facts to be established upon the merit of evidence. It is, therefore, a right step in this direction that the Rev. J. M. Neale has placed some Oriental rituals in parallel columns. But such a parallelism implies much previous critical labour, from which that writer has altogether abstained. We must, in particular, first establish the general epochs of Christian worship, and ascertain the means we possess of restoring and exhibiting a genuine text for a given epoch. An antiquarian research, if it is to lead to any result, must be based upon the knowledge of two points: first, of what the documents now in existence can teach us, and what they cannot teach us; and, secondly, of what is possible, and what is impossible, in a given period of the ancient Church. I shall, therefore, with reference to what has been said in the Second and Third Volumes, first give a sketch of the epochs of the celebration of the Eucharist, as forming the general framework for the epochs of the liturgical formularies themselves; and then go through the genuine Liturgies of the different Churches of ancient Christendom.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

The Age of the Apostles, or the First and Second Christian Generations (33—99).

In the *first* Christian generation, or the age of St. Peter and and St. Paul (33—65), as the records of the New Testament prove, the Eucharist was celebrated as part of the Christian supper of the Christian community, a meal to which whoever had the means contributed his portion.

The *second*, or the age of St John (66—99), and that of the Apostolic missionaries (like St. Luke and St. Mark) who had outlived the Neronian persecution, saw the separation between meal and worship effected. That specific formula of Consecration or Sanctification made out of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Spirit come down upon us and purify our hearts," which we have illustrated in the Second Volume of Hippolytus, as the centre of the whole development, may belong to the first age, and certainly cannot be later than the second. Probably, also, the use of some of the symbolical verses and phrases which our Text-Book exhibits, belong to this period.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

The Ignatian and Polycarpian Age (100—170).

This important, and hitherto very obscure, period has its best exponent in the account of the celebration of the Eucharist given by Justin Martyr, in his Greater Apology (139). When describing the reception of the Catechumens in the worship of the congregation (ch. 65.), he says:

"Prayers being over, we salute each other with a kiss. After this, bread and a cup of water and mixed wine are brought to him of the Brethren who presides. He takes it and offers praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of his Son and of the Holy Spirit; and at considerable length returns thanks to God for having vouchsafed to us to partake of these things. When the Bishop has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all those present conclude with an audible voice, saying, Amen. Now, Amen in the Hebrew tongue signifies, So be it. The eucharistical office being thus performed by the Bishop, and concluded with the acclamations of all the people, those whom we call Deacons distribute this eucharistical bread and wine and water to every one present to partake of them, and then they carry it to the absent."

And when describing the ordinary service on Sundays, he says (ch. 67.):

"At the conclusion of the sermon we all rise up together and pray; and prayers being over, as I have just said, there are bread and wine and water offered, and the Bishop, as before, offers prayers and thanksgiving in the best way he can; and the people conclude all with the joyful acclamation of Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to, and partaken of by, all present, and are sent to the absent by the hands of the Deacons."

That the Lord's Prayer was the concluding part of a Prayer of Thanksgiving which preceded the Communion, might be divined from the place assigned to the solemn *Amen* of the congregation: but that it was considered as the Prayer of Consecration or Blessing is stated expressly in the celebrated, and so often misinterpreted, passage which is found (ch. 66.) between the two descriptions just quoted, and the meaning of which has already been discussed in the Second Volume (p. 177.):

"For we take these not as common bread and wine, but in the same manner as by the Word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour was incarnate, and took blood and flesh for our salvation, thus we are also taught that the food which, by being changed (into our substance), nourishes our blood and body, is the flesh and blood of that

incarnate Jesus, after the Thanksgiving has been said by the Word of prayer which comes from him."

We have here before us the description of a liturgical order made in the fourth decade of the second century, and written probably at Rome, by that pious Christian philosopher. We can easily place this order into the frame which our Text-Book of the ancient Christians exhibits. The people bring bread and wine, but as a sacred offering. This oblation, as we have seen, is a sign of Thanksgiving, and the symbol of the internal act of sacrifice of the believers, and of their vow and pledge to dedicate themselves to God. They invoke His blessing for their sanctification, and in this sense His Spirit is called down upon the elements offered for the commemoration of Christ's death. As to the prayer (and Justin represents the act of prayer before the Communion as one prayer), the greater part was spoken freely by the elder or bishop, "in the best manner he could:" it was longer or shorter, more or less spirited. But the sanctifying conclusion of the whole service before the Communion was the Lord's Prayer, originally the very prayer of consecration. There is no Precatory Prayer mentioned, I mean none like that for the whole state of the Church and all Conditions of Men, which we find in the later Liturgies. If, therefore, such a rite should anywhere be preserved as it was celebrated about the middle or in the latter half of the second century, it would probably begin with the Thanksgiving, and possibly with the same Preface which we find mentioned in the third. It might then give a sketch of a Thanksgiving, not as a fixed formulary, but as a short indication of what was usually said. It probably would not give the Lord's Prayer, for every body knew that by heart, and the form of saying it between clergy and people was traditional in different Churches. But such an order might already exhibit a Prayer of Invocation of the Spirit separate from the Lord's Prayer, and one in which the spirit would be called down, not only upon the people but also upon the gifts. Only the blessing would be directed pre-eminently towards the people, as a Benediction. They were the spiritual real victim, which was to be blessed and sealed.

Now, I think I can actually exhibit a genuine specimen of a Liturgy of that period. The Alexandrian ritual, preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions of the Apostles, must belong to the middle of the second century, as we shall show in the history of the Liturgy of that Church. Upon reading it, it will be found at once to contain exactly what has been thus briefly delineated.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

The Ages of Irenæus and Origen (175—254).

THE first part of this period, or the *fifth* Christian generation, which may also be called the age of Clemens of Alexandria, has left us no express document respecting the sacramental rite. But the spirit of the age tends towards increased solemnity in the rites of oblation and of prayer; and possibly the general Precatory Prayer may have been more intimately entwined with the Eucharistic Prayer. The epoch necessarily implies the formation of the special Prayer of Invocation, in which the reference to the elements was more and more brought forward; the clearest proof of which is furnished in the celebrated fragment of Irenæus, which I have exhibited and discussed in the Second Volume of Hippolytus and his Age.

The second part of this period constitutes the age of Hippolytus and of Origen, or the first half of the third century. For this period the ritual of the same Alexandrian Church can be restored by the following critical process:

We possess a Greek Liturgy called after St. Mark, undoubtedly the Greek original of the Syriac text, known by the name of the Liturgy of St. Cyril, and used by the Jacobite Christians. In the Prayer for Christ's Church and for all Men, which this Liturgy contains, we meet, as Palmer has acutely observed, with a phrase quoted by Origen as used in the eucharistic prayers, a phrase relating to the Church-militant

here on earth. We find indeed that the whole prayer in which that phrase occurs, is original and primitive, with allusion, not only to the peculiar occurrences and wants of Egypt, as the Nile and the Inundation, but also to the times of persecution, so that no proof can be more complete. The emperor and empire are prayed for, but evidently as heathen.

At the same time, that Greek text, in that very same prayer in particular, contains so many repetitions and palpable interpolations, as for instance, the prayer for the "orthodox emperor," that the only question which arises is, whether it be possible to separate the more ancient elements of the Origenian age from the later, from those of the Athanasian or a subsequent period,

Now this critical operation would scarcely be possible, did we not possess in the Abyssinian collection the original form of the same Liturgy as it stood in the second century. By this link we are enabled, first, to extract from our present text all that corresponds to the primitive groundwork. This being done, the Precatory Prayer, and the prayer and chanting of the "Trisagion," or the "Holy, holy, holy," are found to be the only entirely new parts in the Origenian Liturgy, that is to say, that order according to which the worship was conducted at the time of Origen. The rest is rather an amplification of a more simple form, than something entirely new. We shall afterwards find, that the "Trisagion" came into general use from and through Antioch, where it was primitive.

In this manner we are enabled, with great safety, to enucleate the Origenian text of the third century, out of that of the sixth or seventh, which has come down to us in one Greek manuscript, and is preserved in the Liturgies of the Jacobites.

THE FOURTH PERIOD.

The Age of Athanasius, Cyril, Basil, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, or the Fourth Century.

THE changes in the Liturgy from the time of Origen's death to the Council of Nicæa are not known. It was an age of transition, a time in which a new period of the Church was preparing. Constantine and the decrees of Nicæa began to establish the Church as dominant, and its Liturgy became the worship of the empire of the world. As to the Liturgies of the fourth century, we have nothing documentary, except the allusions to the rites and the very formularies of the age in the writings of the Fathers. But these are so numerous and so explicit, particularly in Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem, that it requires no great ingenuity to discover which are the earlier elements in our traditional texts of the seventh and eighth centuries. We find in this age the "Sursum corda" as the beginning of the Anaphora or Oblation of the Liturgy in the proper sense. Combining this fact with the circumstance already alluded to, that the preserved liturgical texts used by sects which separated about the middle of the fifth century, never agree in the parts which precede the Preface, we are evidently entitled to expunge from the Liturgies of the Athanasian age all the ante-Prefational parts.

We can safely do the same as to any mention whatever of the Virgin Mary, except that of a prayer of supplication on behalf of her soul. As to the impossibility of a prayer having been addressed to her in the Eucharistic Service, it is sufficient to remind the reader of the early African Canon, which we find scrupulously attended to in all the genuine texts, that all prayers during the celebration of the Eucharist were to be addressed to the Father, to the exclusion even of the Son, who was considered in that solemnity as the High Priest, offering up the prayers of his people to the Father.

Indeed, all single passages which appear to run counter to this

canon, and still more all which approach to an invocation of the Virgin Mary, show themselves at once to be later insertions: first, by the awkwardness of the place they occupy, which manifestly betrays the interpolation; and then by the infallible documentary proof to which I have alluded before. No such passages ever occur in the parallel texts of the Imperial Greeks, of the Copts, and of the Abyssinians, but only in the one or the other. This completes the proof.

The same arguments hold good on a larger scale. The rituals which can be reduced to one of the two leading Churches of Antioch and Alexandria have on the whole all the ancient elements in common, although in somewhat different words, and exhibit them, as to the principal parts, in the same sequence: but no two of them ever agree in the later additions.

As to the testimonies respecting the state of ritualism in the Athanasian period (the latest which we have to consider for our purpose as far as the Greek texts are concerned), the most important document is a celebrated canon (can. xix.) of the Council of Laodicea of the year 361, of which Bingham (xv. 1.) has given the text and an excellent explanation. The words are these:

"When the Bishop has finished the sermon, first the Prayer of the *Catechumens* is to be separately prayed: after the Catechumens have left, the Prayer of the *Penitents* is to be said: after these have received the blessing and have withdrawn, the Prayers of the *Believers* are to be read, *three* in number. One, the *first*, is a low prayer: the second and third are to be made by addressing the people aloud."

Bingham has proved that this includes two points. First, a Litany, the deacon pronouncing the objects for which the people are to pray, namely, for the Church, the bishop, the clergy, the sick, poor, and afflicted, and so on; to which the people answer: "Have mercy on us, O God." Secondly, that the presbyter or bishop pronounces a concluding or collecting prayer, called therefore the Collecta super populo.

"This being done, the peace is to be given (the Osculum pacis). After the presbyters have given the peace to the bishop, then also the laymen give the peace: and thus the holy Oblation is

gone through, and the clergy alone enter into the precincts of the altar and communicate (there)."

This ordinance gives us also the best opportunity of calling the attention of those who read, and are anxious to understand, ancient liturgical texts, to a circumstance not generally attended to. Our formularies contain, already at a very early period, acts of devotion destined to run parallel with each other. The officiating clergyman has often proposed to himself the form of a private prayer, during the low prayer of the people directed by the exhortations of the deacon, or during the chanting of the people or choir. Then, of course, these parallel services may appear in the copies of the Liturgies as successive services: and it must often have occurred, when troubles came upon a Church, or foreign elements exercised a great influence upon its service, that the meaning of that arrangement was misunderstood. Another source of confusion and of intolerable accumulation of formularies was the fact of prayers, written down for special purposes (for instance, for the commemoration of a departed brother), having crept into the general office. Still, the circumstance by which the liturgical texts, as we now find them, have been mainly corrupted is this: that the service was changed from a congregational act in which the people took an integral part, into a clerical one with low prayers and "mumblings."

Before entering upon the special examination of the genuine liturgical texts, we must protest against the abuse which has been made, by the two English writers above alluded to, of a supposed authority, of the Patriarchal cities in the earlier ages. In the second century, and even in the third, every town of any consideration had certainly its own service, as much as its own constitution; and used, therefore, its liturgical liberty, as we have amply demonstrated and explained in the two preceding volumes. There was an early influence, but no authority beyond the natural limits. Alexandria had a position of its own: Antioch was the mother-Church of Asia (for Jerusalem disappears as a leading Church after the destruction), but even the great Syrian towns around her enjoyed their independence.

FIRST CHAPTER.

The Communion Service of the Church of Alexandria, or the Liturgy of St. Mark.

A.

A DOCUMENTARY SPECIMEN OF THE EUCHARISTIC SERVICE

According to the Alexandrian Church, in the Age of Polycarp, about the Middle of the Second Century.

If the amplification of the ancient Liturgy preserved to us by the Abyssinians was already a received ecclesiastical formulary in the time of Origen, or about the year 230, it is clear that it cannot have been established later than about the year 200. It follows from this, that the origin of the groundwork itself can scarcely have been later than about 150. But the Apostolic beauty and simplicity of the ancient primitive form speaks best for itself. We give it therefore here in an English translation, referring our learned readers to the original text.

THE EUCHARIST, OR THANKSGIVING.

The Lord be with you all:
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts:
We have lifted them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord:
It is right and meet.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord, through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, whom in the last days Thou hast sent to us, a Saviour and Redeemer, the angel of Thy counsel, the Word which is of Thee, through which Thou hast made all things by Thy will. And Thou hast sent Him from heaven into the womb of the Virgin. He was

made flesh and was borne in her womb. And he was manifested Thy Son by the Holy Ghost that He might fulfil Thy will: and that He might gather Thee a people by expanding His hands: He suffered that He might liberate the sufferers who confide in Thee. He was by His will given over to suffer death, that He might dissolve death and break the bonds of Satan, and that he might tread hell under His feet, and bring out the saints and make ordinances, and bring to light resurrection.

He, therefore, took the bread, and gave thanks and said: Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise the cup, and said: This is my blood, which is shed for you; do this, as oft as ye shall do it, in remembrance of me.

(*Oblation and Consecration of People and Elements.*)

Recollecting, therefore, His death and His resurrection, we offer to Thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee that Thou hast made us worthy to stand before Thee, and perform the office of priests to Thee: and we supplicate and pray Thee, that Thou mayest send Thy Holy Spirit upon the offerings of this Church, and likewise that Thou mayest give holiness to all those who partake of them; that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost, that their faith may be confirmed in truth, that they may praise and magnify Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom be to Thee praise and power in the Holy Church, now and ever, and in ages of ages. *Amen.*

The People: As it was, is, and shall be, in generations of generations, and in ages of ages. *Amen.*

The Deacon: You who stand, bow down your heads.

(*Special Consecration of the kneeling People.*)

Eternal Lord, who knowest what is hidden: Thy people have bowed down to Thee their heads, and have laid down before Thee the hardness of heart and flesh. Look down upon them from Thy established habitation, and bless these men and these women. Strengthen them by the virtue of Thy right hand, and protect them from all evil suffering. Be Thou their guardian, as well of their bodies as of their souls. Increase to them and to us faith and fear through Thy only Son, in whom be to Thee with Him and with the Holy Spirit, praise and power, for ever, and in ages of ages. *Amen.*

The Deacon: Let us look up.
The Bishop: The Holy to those who are holy.
The People: One alone is Holy, the Father:
One alone is Holy, the Son:
One alone is Holy, the Spirit.
The Bishop: The Lord be with you all.
The People: And with thy Spirit.

Hymn (of Thanksgiving).

[The People draw near and partake of the Communion.]

(*Prayer after the Communion of the People.*)

Lord, Ruler of all, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: we render Thee thanks, that Thou hast vouchsafed to us to partake of Thy holy mystery: may it not be to us to judgment nor to condemnation, but to the renewing of the soul, of the body, and of the mind: through Thy only Son, in whom, &c.

The People: Amen.
The Presbyter: The Lord be with you all.

[The Imposition of Hands after the Communion.]

(*Final Consecration, or Sealing of the People.*)

Eternal Lord, who governest all things: Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Bless these Thy servants and these Thy handmaidens. Protect and help and save them by the power of Thy angels. Keep and strengthen them in Thy fear through Thy Majesty; enlighten them that they may think of what is of Thee: and grant to them that they may believe what is of Thee. Give to them concord without sin and wrath: through Thy only Son, in whom, &c.

The People: Amen.
The Bishop: The Lord be with you all.
The People: And with Thy spirit.
The Deacon: Go home in peace.

[This is the end of the Thanksgiving.]

B.

THE PRECATORY PRAYER, AS USED IN THE TIME OF ORIGEN.

THE Prayer for all Conditions of Men, in the Alexandrian Liturgy, was inserted into the preceding Liturgy after the first Prayer of Thanksgiving. It is alluded to by Origen in the first half of the third century, and therefore cannot have been composed later than the beginning of it. The text of it is as follows:

We most earnestly beseech Thee, O thou lover of mankind, to be mindful of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is spread over the face of the whole earth: be mindful, O Lord, of all Thy people, the flocks of Thy fold.

Send down from heaven into our hearts that peace, which the world cannot give, and that of this world also.

Guide in peace the king, the armies, the commanders, the senate, the councils, the people, the neighbourhood, our coming in, and our going out.

O King of Peace, give us Thy peace; keep us in love and charity; be our God, for we know none besides Thee; we call upon Thy name: grant unto our souls the life of righteousness, that the death of sin may not prevail against us, or any of thy people.

Visit, O Lord, and heal those who are sick, according to Thy pity and compassion; turn from them and from us all sickness and diseases; restore them to, and confirm them in, their strength. Raise up those who have lingered under long and tedious indispositions; succour those who are vexed with unclean spirits. Relieve those who are in prisons or in the mines, under accusations or condemnations, in exile or in slavery, or loaded with grievous tribute; deliver them all, for Thou art our God who loosest those who are in bonds, and raisest up those who are oppressed; the hope of the hopeless, the helper of the helpless, the lifter up of those who are fallen, the haven of those who are shipwrecked, the avenger of those who are injured. Give Thy pity, pardon, and refreshment to every Christian soul, whether in affliction or in error. And, O Lord, Thou physician of soul and body, heal all our infirmities both of soul and body: O Thou, who art the overseer of all flesh, watch over us and heal us by Thy saving

health. Be a guide at all times, and in all places, to our brethren who are travelling or about to travel, whether by land or by water; whatever way they pursue their journey, bring them all to a quiet and safe port: be with them in their voyages and on their road, restore them to their friends, and let them receive each other in joy and health. Preserve us also, O Lord, in our pilgrimage through this life from hurt and danger. Send rain out of Thy treasures upon those places which stand in need of it; renew and make glad the face of the earth by its descent, that, bringing forth, it may rejoice in the drops thereof. Raise the waters of the river to their just height; renew and make glad the face of the earth by the ascent of them, water its furrows, and increase its produce. Bless, O Lord, the fruits of the earth, and preserve them incorrupt for our use, that we may sow and reap from them. Bless also, O Lord, and crown the year with the riches of Thy goodness, for the sake of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger: for the sake of all us, who put our trust in Thee, and call upon Thy holy name: for the eyes of all wait upon Thee, O Lord, and Thou givest them their meat in due season. O Thou that givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness; give us always what is sufficient for the relief of our necessities, that we may abound in every good work in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Give rest, O Lord our God, to the souls of our fathers and brethren, who are departed in the faith of Christ: be mindful of our forefathers from the beginning of the world, of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, just men, and the soul of every one who is gone before us in the faith of Christ.

Give rest to the souls of all these, O Lord our God, in the tabernacles of Thy saints; dispense unto them in Thy kingdom those good things which Thou hast promised, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, which Thou hast prepared, O God, for those who love Thy holy name. Give rest to their souls, and vouchsafe them the kingdom of heaven: but grant unto us that we may finish our lives as Christians, well pleasing to Thee, and free from sin, and that we may have our portion and lot with all Thy saints. Receive, O God, unto Thy holy heaven and to Thy intellectual altar in the heaven of heavens, by the ministry of arch-angels, the eucharistical praises of those that offer sacrifices and oblations to Thee; of those, who would offer much or little, privately or openly, but have it not to offer; of those who have this day brought their offerings. Receive them as Thou didst the gifts of

Thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the widow's mite. Receive their offerings of praise and thanksgiving, and for their earthly things give them heavenly, for their temporal, eternal.

Such, then, is the origin and progress of the Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, in the second and third periods of the liturgical development, in its essential parts. It spread, not only over Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, but was, in the fourth century, also introduced into Abyssinia. At that time it had already received the form of the fourth period. We possess the Abyssinian form as preserved in use by that Church. We have, besides, the Greek text, called the Liturgy of St. Mark, used by those among the Christians of Egypt who are united with the see of Constantinople or Rome. Finally, we have a Coptic text (of which the Arabic translation has not yet been found) used by the so-called Jacobites, that is to say, by the independent Christians of the Church of Egypt, anathematized as Monophysites by an equally one-sided and fanatical majority, which was supported by the strong arm of the emperors of Byzantium. They use the Liturgy called that of St. Cyril, from the fanatical Alexandrian patriarch (about 415), to whose doctrine respecting the unity of Christ's nature the Egyptian priests adhered, in violent reaction against the more Antiochene speculations of the Council of Chalcedon.

I have placed these three texts in three parallel columns, omitting what is found only in one of them. What remains gives us the text of the middle of the fourth century.

In the first edition, I had, for want of space, only indicated the passages of the Coptic text, which are literally or substantially identical with the Greek given *in extenso*. I have now printed the passages themselves. The reader can thus convince himself of their identity, and therefore of their relative antiquity.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Communion Service of the Church of Antioch, or the Liturgy of St. James.

THE Liturgy called after St. James, both in the Greek and Syriac, and in all cognate forms, is fully as much corrupted as that of St. Mark, and unfortunately we have not here the same safe basis for reconstructive criticism which the Abyssinian ordinances have preserved to us of the Church of Alexandria. We cannot, therefore, think of restoring the primitive text of the second century; but we may attempt to reconstitute, in its essential parts, the genuine text of the fourth century, and perhaps that of the Origenian age. And, indeed, we are not without critical resources for restoring the ancient ritual, by consulting, first, the text itself, and then the testimonies of ancient ecclesiastical writers. Now, if, in the first place, we apply the principle above established, that nothing can be primitive which is not common both to the Byzantines and the national Church, the result is remarkable enough. For what remains, as the common heirloom which they had inherited from their fathers, is entirely connected in all its parts, and presents an organic whole, totally distinct from the senseless agglomerations of forms in the ritual which we are condemned to read, and so many dispersed congregations in the East to see used. This restored text may therefore be considered as the genuine voice and tradition of the illustrious Church of Antioch; and, if we compare it with the two ante-Nicene forms of the Alexandrian Church, we find that it exhibits a worthy parallel to the Origenian form, or to the Alexandrian Liturgy of the third century, with enough originality to prove itself an independent offshoot of the Apostolic age. The tradition points to Ignatius, the bishop and martyr of Antioch, as having by Divine inspiration ordained the Liturgy of that Church, and in particular its psalmody. Psalmody, indeed, is the striking original feature of

the Antiochene ritual, from beginning to end. The Trisagion, or the "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; Heaven and Earth are full of thy glory," which at Alexandria is evidently a later insertion, appears here in its original place, and must therefore have spread from Antioch to Alexandria, and probably also to Asia Minor and to Byzantium.

The result we gain by this first critical operation is fully confirmed by that of the second, namely, the examination of the passages in the writers of this age which illustrate our service.

Of these, Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus in Syria in the beginning of the fifth century, when that district belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch, mentions as the beginning of the Communion Service, the Apostolical benediction taken from the conclusion of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all." The Constantinopolitan Communion Service begins with the same Apostolic blessing, which points to a derivation from Antioch.

As to the singing of the 33rd Psalm during the Communion, the custom is mentioned by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem about 340, as that of Jerusalem, and by St. Jerome as that of Palestine.

Cyril has given us, in the eloquent delineation of this holy rite in his fifth Mystagogic Catechesis (printed in vol. iv. B. of Assemani, and translated in Augusti's Denkwürdigkeiten), a complete catechetical commentary on the Liturgy of Jerusalem, which, according to tradition and history, is identical with that of Antioch. We give, therefore, the substance of his commentary, as a liturgical record of what in his time was the established Liturgy, the voice of the Church, and as securing, at all events, the framework of the Liturgy in the early part of the fourth century:

1. The *Preface*. "Sursum corda . . . Dignum et justum est."
2. The *Thanksgiving*. As to this, Cyril says:

"We then make mention of heaven and earth and sea, sun and moon, stars, and every creature, rational and irrational, visible and invisible: angels, archangels, virtues, dominions, principalities, powers, thrones, many-faced cherubim, as if we

were saying those words of David, 'Praise ye the Lord with me' (Ps. xxxiv. 3.). We also make mention of the seraphim whom Isaiah saw standing around the throne of God, and covering with two wings their faces, and with two their feet, and with two flying, and saying: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.' We recite this doctrine of things divine which has been delivered unto us by the seraphim, that we may join in praise with the celestial hosts.

"After having sanctified ourselves with spiritual praises, we supplicate our gracious God, that He may send his Holy Spirit on the Offerings, so as to make the bread, the body, the wine the blood, of Christ. For whatever the Holy Spirit touches becomes sanctified and changed.

"When the spiritual sacrifice, the unbloody worship is achieved, we supplicate God over that victim of propitiation for the general peace of the Churches, for the right ordering of the world, for the emperors, for the soldiers, and . . . for those who are sick and afflicted, and generally we all pray and offer this victim for all who require help.

"Afterwards we also remember those who have fallen asleep: first the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God may accept our petition through their prayers and recommendations. After which we also pray for the defunct holy fathers and bishops, and in general for all our departed brethren; believing the greatest help for those souls to be the prayer made at the time when the holy and most awful victim lies there." [An absurd defence of this practice follows, against which many, as he himself avows, remonstrated.]

"This being done, we recite that prayer which our Saviour Himself delivered unto the disciples, calling God, with a pure conscience, our Father, and saying, 'Our Father, which art in Heaven.'" [Then follows an explanation of the single petitions.]

"When that prayer is finished, thou sayest: *Amen*, which means: 'May it be done,' thus sealing all which is contained in this prayer, delivered to us by God.

"After this has been performed, the priest says: '*The Holy to those who are holy.*' Holy are the offerings lying there; holy are ye too, having been thought worthy to receive the gifts of

the Holy Spirit. The holy things, therefore, belong to those who are holy. You then answer: '*One is holy, One is the Lord Jesus Christ*' [the conclusion of the primitive Christian hymn]. For One, indeed, is holy by nature; but we are holy also, yet not by nature, but by participation and by the practice of works and by vows.

"Thou then hearest the voice of the Precentor, who with a divine melody invites you to the communion of the holy mysteries, and says: , *O taste and see that the Lord is good*' (Ps. xxxiv.). Do not let this be judged and appreciated by the palate, but by a faith which knoweth no doubt. For those who taste are bidden to taste, not bread and wine, but the symbols (antitypes) of the body and blood of Christ.

"Therefore, drawing near, do not stretch out the palm or separate the fingers, but place thy right like a throne, as it were, under thy left, and receive the body of Christ with the concave hand, answering, *Amen*. And having cautiously sanctified thy eyes by coming in contact with the holy body, partake of it, taking care that nothing of it be lost. For consider what thou lettest fall as a diminution of thy own members. For say, if any one had given to thee gold dust, wouldst thou not employ the greatest caution and diligence, that nothing of it might perish and suffer any damage? Wilt thou then not take care, with more caution and vigilance, that not a crumb fall to the ground, of what is so much more precious than gold and gems?

"After having partaken of the body of Christ, draw near to the cup, not stretching out thy hand, but bending down the neck as worshipping and venerating, and say, *Amen*, and thou also wilt be sanctified with partaking of the blood of Christ. And when the moisture is still on thy lips, touch them with thy hands and sanctify thy eyes and forehead, and the other senses.

"Lastly, wait for the prayer [the Thanksgiving after the Communion], and offer thanks to God, who has vouchsafed to thee the participation in such mysteries.

"Keep these traditions inviolate, and yourselves without offence. Do not cut yourselves off from the Communion, and do not defraud yourselves of these holy and spiritual mysteries, on account of the pollution of your sins. *And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and your whole spirit and soul*

and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ (1 Thess. v. 23.). To Him, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour and dominion, now and ever, and for ages of ages. Amen."

We have given the whole of this passage, because it shows us what the text and interpretation of the Liturgy were at Jerusalem and Antioch.

Upon comparing this Liturgy with the text which results from the collation of the existing Liturgies of the Byzantines and the Nationals (called Nestorians), we find that they perfectly agree, both in order and tenour.

The allusions to the Communion Service in the works of Ephrem Syrus, deacon of Edessa about the year 350, confirm all this without adding any new feature. He defines the Prayer of Invocation thus: a prayer that the Holy Spirit may descend and sanctify the offerings laid out on earth.

The eloquent and spiritual passages in St. John Chrysostom, who was some time presbyter of Antioch, respecting the Communion Service, have been so carefully extracted by Bingham, that little more can be gleaned from his writings. We reserve such of these passages as bear directly upon the text, for the historical commentary on the Liturgy which bears the name of that great man, and is now the leading form of worship in the East. But, as to the Church of Antioch, we have a learned commentary, written about the middle of the seventh century, by James, bishop of Edessa, one of the most learned Syrian writers, who himself composed a Liturgy.* This work, printed

* Bibl. Orient. i. 479. Jacobi Episcopi Edesseni Epistola ad Thomam Presbyterum de Ritu Missæ Syrorum. The text is given from the Expositio Missæ of Dionysius Barsalibæus, a late Syrian writer of the 12th century. Cf. p. 520 and tom. ii. 176. The long and mystical exposition of Barsalibi, in which it is found incorporated, is falsely ascribed to John Maro, the supposed father of the Maronites (about 700), and has been edited in a Latin translation by the (most uncritical and not very honest) younger Assemani (Liturg. Orient. lib. iv. tom. ii. 227—397.), in fifty chapters, of which chap. iv. and chap. v. to the words towards the end, "liturgiæ pars censeantur," are the old treatise. That mentioned in Bibl. Orient. ii. 176. is in twenty chapters. The Liturgy composed by James of Edessa begins with "Deus universorum pater et Dominus dominantium." (Bibl. Orient. i. 476.)

in the "Bibliotheca orientalis" of the elder Assemani, is the only rational liturgical commentary on the Eastern Liturgies which exists: it is short, historical, and philosophical. The author points out very clearly the differences between the rituals of Antioch and of Alexandria. I have given in the edition of the Liturgy of St. James, all the important passages bearing upon the text. I have, besides, shown in the Notes, that this Liturgy betrays signs of having gone through the process of incorporation into the Antiochene Constitutions of the Apostles, just as we find has been the case with the most ancient Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria.

The Liturgy inserted into the eighth book of the Greek Constitutions is itself most evidently an attempt to embody into the ancient traditional Liturgy of the Church of Antioch one of the two theological systems respecting the person of Christ, which, in those eventful seventy years between Origen and the Council of Nice, strove for the mastery in the Church. It is neither Arian nor Athanasian, but, on the whole, nearer to the first. For this reason I have given the corrected text of this Liturgy as an appendix to the second chapter of the Reliquiæ Liturgicæ.

The Church of Antioch must, of course, have had its complete form of traditional Liturgy at the time of Justin Martyr and of Polycarp, as well as the Church of Alexandria. But unfortunately this form is lost, if we look to the texts preserved to us. The style of the most ancient part of the Liturgy of St. James, such as we have restored it from the concordant parts of the Greek and Syriac texts, bears upon it the mark of the beginning of the third century, or of the earlier part of the age of Hippolytus. It is written with art, but yet not rhetorically. Still we can only by a critical process separate that part from the rest. The Liturgy called after St. James is a genuine Liturgy; that is to say, it is the one used in the Church of Antioch in the seventh century: it is an ancient Liturgy enlarged, but not rewritten. But, as our text stands, its ancient portions must, on the whole, be considered as the expression of the fourth century.

The traditional Liturgy, however, of the Church of Antioch

must have been committed to writing in the form of an Apostolic composition; and I believe we have a corruption of it still extant in that Liturgy of the corrupted text of the eighth book of the Constitutions of the Apostles. It bears, in its present shape, the unequivocal signs of a rhetorical rewriting of that lost traditional form which must have been the groundwork of our Liturgy of St. James. It is the production of a learned ritualist of the same school which gave us the second interpolation of Ignatius. It presents in a liturgical form a theological system of that Subordinatianism (or Monarchianism, the school which laid particular stress on the subordinating of the Son to the Father, in order to secure the unity of the Godhead, and which afterwards verged into Arianism), foisted upon a simple traditional text in order to claim the authority of Apostolic tradition. It is intolerably diffuse and prolix; but its component parts are very few. It has not the Lord's Prayer with the introductory (and often also subsequent) Liturgical Prayer, which the Liturgies of the third century all exhibit. Not (as Bingham, xv. 3. 28., conjectures) as though the Lord's Prayer in the first four centuries at any time could have been omitted in the celebration of the Eucharist. But the ancient ritualistic documents suppose its place to be known: it was omitted in them, exactly as the words of free prayer in the Thanksgiving were not consigned to writing. The whole scheme of that Liturgy of the eighth book is as follows:

Præfatio: Sursum corda.

Gratiarum actio: Vere dignum et justum est. (Beginning with creation, ending with Christ's doings and sufferings.)

Words of Institution. [Memores igitur]: In nocte qua, &c.

Invocation: Mitte Spiritum S. ut faciat hunc panem, &c.

Commemoration of the Church triumphant and militant, concluding with Doxology.

(Here the Lord's Prayer came in.)

Communion: Sancta sanctis! Unus Sanctus, &c. Ps. xxxiv.

Thanksgiving for Communion.

Blessing.

The Commemoration is the only element which the traditional

Liturgy of the Apostolic age of the Church of Alexandria has not in common with this remodelled Apostolic text. But the Liturgy to which Origen and Hippolytus listened had already this Commemoration as an integral part. That our text is not derived from the Alexandrian ritual is proved by the very fact of the Commemoration having been inserted, not before the Thanksgiving as in the Alexandrian rite, but after it, as in the Antiochene and Greek Liturgies; a difference already pointed out by James of Edessa, in the seventh century. Indeed I believe that all the Liturgies of the East belong to one of the two primitive families hitherto considered, the Alexandrian and the Antiochene.

We may therefore say, that as the Liturgy of St. Mark represents for Alexandria the legitimate development of the lost traditional Liturgy of the second century, so that of the eighth book exhibits its illegitimate and later *rifacimento* for Antioch. The one is the voice of the Church in the beginning of the age of Hippolytus; the other is the work of a learned falsifier of old texts, who lived in the latter part of the century, shortly after Malchion had formulized at Antioch the orthodox doctrine against Paul of Samosata, the bishop in the years 260—274. (See his fragments in Routh, Reliq. vol. iii.)

In short, I believe the author of this Liturgy was a rhetorical divine like Malchion, some ten or twenty years later. He has Malchion's phraseology almost literally, and intends to represent it as Apostolical. The Liturgy has none of the shibboleths of the Arian school. It is based upon the Johannean doctrine of the Logos, developed as Monarchianism throughout. Its evident intention is to identify this development with the Apostolical doctrine. Cyprian's time engendered both the baptism of new-born infants and the communion of children in the arms of their mothers. Our text alone, of all extant Liturgies, supposes such children to be regular communicants.* The abuse remained, and was of course justified by theologians: but the genuine liturgical texts kept clear of it.†

* In the Exord.: Τὰ παιδιὰ προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες. Before the Communion τὰ παιδιὰ are mentioned in the rubric after the women.

† St. Augustin, in order to justify the rite and its unqualified approbation,

We may add that, whether the author was an Antiochene or not, his work was based upon the traditional Liturgy of that primitive and influential Church.

As to this text, it is printed in the Second Volume of these documents, as forming a part of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. The passages which correspond verbally, or almost verbally, with the Liturgy of St. James, are in this text marked by a larger type, not as being a derivation from that ritual, but as proofs that both rest upon the same traditional and ritualistic basis. The corresponding passages occur in the same sequence in both, and belong to the original stock of the Antiochene Liturgy of the fourth century, such as I have restored it.

But I believe a very curious positive proof still exists that our text not only represents the Antiochene Liturgy, but preserves even some parts which disappeared when, in the course of the third century, the simple rude form of tradition was fashioned into the language of artistic composition. Chrysostom, in his Homily on Eustathius, the bishop of Antioch about 330, says that great and pious man thought the very Liturgy of the Church clearly taught him that it was his duty to include the whole Church in his solicitude. For (Chrysostom's words) he says thus: "if we must pray *for the Universal Church which extends itself from one end of the inhabited globe to the other*, it is still more our duty to show that we care for the whole of it." The words marked have all the appearance of being the words of the Liturgy, and therefore of that used by the bishop of Antioch, who is introduced speaking. They do not express simply the idea, but a sacred form, and part of the formulary.

yea recommendation, by Cyprian, attempts with African sophistry to prove that children cannot be saved without it, *because* Christ says in the Gospel of St. John (vi. 53.): "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" his cotemporary, pope Innocent I., says the same. The Council of Trent abolished this unhallowed abuse, but condemned those who maintain that the Fathers said it was necessary for salvation; which is exactly what they do say, as Bingham has most patiently proved (xv. 4. 7.). That condemnation is undoubtedly, if not an Apostolic, certainly a very emphatic mode of silencing people, but it cannot alter the facts. *E pur si muove!*

These words then do not occur in the Liturgy of St. James; but they are the very first words of the Commemoration Prayer for the Universal Church, in the Liturgy of the eighth book of the Constitutions.

Now, I wish to state expressly, that I do not mean to say there was only one fixed form in the Church of Antioch during the earlier part of the second century, and that this was literally the text which our impostor had before him. The free element predominated so much at that time in the whole Church, that what was written down as the ancient tradition, could express only one of many collateral rites used within the same province or district and at Antioch itself.

Thus there are in the Liturgy of the eighth book certain formulas which we meet with in the Liturgy called after St. Basil; that is to say, in the more ancient form of the Liturgy adopted in Byzantium.

When in the course of the fourth century a consolidation of the sacramental Liturgies took place, by or through the leading men of the Eastern Churches, the peculiar type of the particular Church, as of that of Alexandria or of Antioch, was preserved; but within that framework ancient formulas were also received from other parts of Christendom, where they had been preserved as traditional, or, as it was then called, Apostolical.

The Liturgy of Byzantium owes its peculiar form to this eclecticism. It is derived from the Antiochene rite, as to the general framework and most of the primitive materials; but it has been enriched by that hierarchically judicious process of eclecticism, which rendered the Liturgies of Constantinople and of Rome in some respects superior to the provincial, but more traditional, Liturgies of the other Churches.

The Antiochene form is certainly the principal groundwork of the Constantinopolitan Liturgies, which have exercised so decided an influence upon Eastern Christendom, and perhaps, through Asia Minor, upon the Western Churches.

But there is no doubt that it possessed besides a considerable influence, and subsequently a decided authority, over a considerable portion of Asia, and in particular over a part of Asia Minor. The existence of an original Liturgy of Asia Minor, dis-

tinct from the Antiochene, is a mere conjecture; we have no quotations or other evidence to support it. Besides, Asia Minor is no very accurate ecclesiastical denomination; because it embraces Churches which had no historical connexion amongst each other. Historical criticism, therefore, can take no notice of any such conjectures. What we know is, that a learned Syrian bishop, only fifty years later than Gregory the Great, expressly states that there were but two great classes of ancient Liturgies, and that the "provinces inhabited by the Greeks" agreed in the distinctive part with Antioch.

The hope of finding a pure text in Assyria, among the Syrian Christians, called Nestorians by the Byzantines and their followers, has been sadly disappointed by the work of the Rev. G. P. Badger on those unfortunate victims of Kurdish cruelty, Turkish double-dealing, Roman intrigues, and Romanizing blindness. (See Note at the end of this Introduction.)

THIRD CHAPTER.

The Sacramental Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople.

As the Imperial Court took so much care of the Church and the Liturgy, from the days of Theodosius down to those of Justinian and Justin, we must not expect to find here a ritual of very high antiquity. The Byzantine ritual marks a new period in Liturgical composition, an eclectic refinement upon traditional and provincial forms; in short, what the Roman Liturgy is in the Western Churches.

Although a certain school in this country seems to despise historical criticism to such a degree as to disdain even the timid criticism of the Romanist writers of the seventeenth century, and to adopt the exploded errors of Baronius and Bellarmine, I think it unnecessary and unworthy to go back to such elementary discussions, and to prove what requires no proof in the eyes of any scholar; namely, that the two remarkable and world-governing Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chry-

sostom are *not* the work of these Fathers, nor two essentially different forms; but that the one is a slight modification, and on the whole an abridgment, of the other. Unfortunately we have as yet no palimpsest manuscript of an early date (fifth or sixth century), which would give us a genuine text, and consequently begin with the Anaphora or the Osculum Pacis. All I have been able to find is an ancient diptych of the end of the eighth century, and therefore nearly cotemporary with the Barberini MS.* Thus the only documentary form which we

* It is impossible to say what treasures of general literature, and of ancient Liturgies, may be hidden in the palimpsest manuscripts of such libraries as obstinately refuse permission to examine them by the (now perfectly safe) application of chemical reagents: and I am sorry to be obliged to say that some of the great European Libraries are still among this number, although in the Vatican Library no such prohibition exists. As to the British Museum . . . . The most precious relic of liturgical antiquity which I have been able to discover is a consular diptych (consuls of the year 526) once in the collection of M. de Fejervari, now in the possession of M. de Pulzski, who has kindly allowed me to examine it. This diptych has been used for engraving upon it (most incorrectly) the beginning of the Greek Liturgy:

Στομεν καλος
Στομεν ευλαβος
Στομεν μετα φοβου
Προσχομεν τι αγια αναφοR (Latin r.)
Εν ιρινη τω θεω προσφεριεν
Ελεως ειρινη
Θυσία αινεσεως
η αγαπιτου θεου και πατρος
και η χαρης του κυριου και θεου
και σωτηρος ἡμῶν Ιησοῦ Χριστου
εφ ημας

Then follows the indication of the eleventh year (ΙΑ ΕΤΙ, ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧ ΠΟΛ (Hadrian I. pope, 772-793).

Μνησθητι κυριε τοῦ δουλου σου Ιωαννου
ελαχιστου πρεσβυτερου μονης της αγιας Αγαθης. Αμην.

The church or parish of St. Agatha belongs, probably, to Calabria or to Sicily: both were under the patriarchate of Rome, and used, predominantly at least, the Greek service. The orthography agrees perfectly with the time of Hadrian I. (Hadrian II. reigned only five years, from 867 to 872), whose name is mentioned at the bottom again, as "Ποιμένος ἡμῶν."

can make the basis of our criticism is the text exhibited by the ancient Barberini manuscript. This text is here given for the first time. In order to enable every one to judge of the relation of these two Liturgies to each other, their texts have been placed in parallel columns.

I have added the text of the Liturgy of the *Presanctified* (of the preconsecrated elements), ascribed to Basil, and intended to be used (as it is used throughout the East) in the season of Lent. This form is peculiar to the Eastern Church from an early period, and rests upon the custom of not making offerings in Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays. The Alexandrian Constitutions seem to prove that the custom, at this period at all events, did not extend to that Church and its dependencies.

The idea of the spiritual self-sacrifice of the congregation, and its act of consecration, by the Invocation and the Lord's Prayer, in the sense explained above, is still strongly and clearly expressed in these texts.

I shall be best able to make this clear to the general reader by exhibiting a view of the whole tenour of this important Liturgy:

In the first prayer of the Believers (introductory prayer of the person offering) it is said:

> "Lord . . . . . make us strong *by the power of the Holy Spirit* for Thy service, in order that we, standing uncondemned before Thy Holy Majesty, may offer Thee the sacrifice of praise."

And in the second prayer of the Believers, which is its continuation, destined to be said in silence during the arrangement of the offertory and the singing of the choir:

> "God . . . . . give us strength, through the power of Thy Holy Spirit, for this service, *and give us speech when we open our mouth to call down the grace of Thy Holy Spirit* on the gifts which are now to be offered."

And in the third prayer of the Believers, to be said after the gifts are set in order, and the Hallelujah sung:

> "Give us the grace, O Lord, to be the servants of Thy

new covenant, dispensers of Thy Holy Mysteries, in order that we may be able to become worthy to offer *this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice* . . . which Thou wilt accept, and send down on us, therefore, *the grace of the Holy Spirit.*"

And in the fourth prayer, to be said after the Preface, during the singing of the Trisagion:

"It is truly worthy, O God our Lord, ... to thank Thee, to praise Thee, the only truly existing God, and *to offer Thee,* with downcast hearts and humble spirit, *this our reasonable service.*"

As the quaternio (fascisulus of sixteen pages) which contained the proper prayers of consecration immediately before and after the words of Institution, has been torn out, I have devised a method of supplying the part that is missing from a comparison of the official ritual (which has been dilated into a considerably larger mass) with the genuine text of the so-called Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, as given in the same MS. This Liturgy, which is the foundation of the service usually adopted in all the Greek Churches, is in most parts shorter and more concise, in others, however, more detailed and ornamented. It exhibits throughout not only the same type, but, on the whole, employs the same expressions. For instance, it says, before the prayer which corresponds with the above second prayer:

"Look upon our prayer, and *cleanse our souls and bodies* from all impurities of the flesh and spirit."

And in the succeeding one (after the oblation):

"Lord, make us *fit* to offer to Thee *gifts and spiritual sacrifice* . . . *and let Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and upon the gifts which lie before us, and upon Thy whole people.*"

The prayer after the "Holy" is much shorter and more original than that of which the end is wanting in the Basilian Liturgy of our MS. It runs in its complete form thus:

"With these Heavenly Hosts, we also cry, O merciful Lord,

and say: Holy art Thou and All-Holy, Thou and Thine only-begotten Son, and Thy Holy Spirit: Holy art Thou and All-Holy, and glorious is Thy Name, Thou who so lovedst Thy World, that thou gavest Thy only-begotten Son, that every one who believeth on Him might not perish, but have eternal life:

Who, after He came, and had fulfilled for us all the ordinance of salvation, in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread in His holy, and unspotted, and guiltless hands, and gave thanks, and blessed and brake it, and gave it to His holy Disciples and Apostles, and said: (here follow the words of Institution.)

Answer of the people: Amen.

"*In remembrance now of this Thy redeeming command,* and of all that has been done for us, the Cross, the Grave, the Resurrection on the third day, the Ascension into Heaven, the Sitting at the right hand of God, and His second and glorious Coming, we offer Thee *Thine of Thine,* and in all and through all we sing to Thee (we praise Thee, we thank Thee, and worship Thee, our God).

"*We offer Thee this reasonable and bloodless service,* and call on Thee, and supplicate, and entreat: *send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us,* and on these gifts which are spread before us, and (breaking the bread) make this bread into the precious Body of Thy Christ, changing it through Thy Holy Spirit: Amen! And what is in the cup into the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing it through Thy Holy Spirit: Amen! And that they may become to those who partake of them a *cleansing of the soul,* a forgiveness of sins, a communion of the Holy Spirit, a fulfilment of Thy Kingdom, a joyful confidence towards Thee, a judgment not a condemnation.

"*We offer Thee this reasonable service* for the Fathers who have fallen asleep in Faith, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, Apostles, Heralds, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Abstainers, and every just one who has finished his course in Faith: especially for the Holy, unspotted,

all-glorious, blessed, Our Lady, the Mother of God and perpetual Virgin, Mary."

(Followed by the prayer for the Universal Church of Christ and all conditions of men.)

After these preparatory petitions and thanksgivings comes the real Consecration Prayer, the Prayer for the Consecration of the worshipping People, or the Prayer of Sacrifice:

"*To Thee, O gracious Lord, we devote our whole lives and our hopes,* and call on Thee, and supplicate, and entreat: make us worthy to partake of the Heavenly and awful Mysteries of this Thy Holy and Spiritual Table, with a clean conscience, for the remission of sins, for the forgiveness of our omissions, for the communion of the Holy Spirit, for the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven, for joyful confidence towards Thee, for judgment not for condemnation; and vouchsafe to us, O Lord, with joy to make bold to call upon Thee, the God and Father in Heaven, and to say:

(The Congregation.)

Our Father, which art in Heaven:
Hallowed be Thy Name:
Thy Kingdom come:
Thy Will be done, as it is in Heaven so upon the Earth:
Give us this day our daily Bread:
Forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors:
And lead us not into Temptation:
But deliver us from Evil:

(The Clergyman.)

For Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory for ever and ever.

(The Congregation.)

Amen."

Then the Communion takes place, preceded by the Salutation of Peace and the Blessing.

It is evident that the culminating point, the acme, is the prayer which immediataly precedes the Communion, and that this concerns the real sacrifice, and is consequently to be considered as the true Consecration Prayer. We therefore subjoin here the corresponding form of this prayer, according to the ancient text of the Liturgy of St. Basil:

"O our God, Thou God of Salvation, *teach us to offer Thee worthy thanks* for Thy goodness which Thou hast showed us. Thou art our God, and acceptest these gifts. Purify us from all blemishes of the flesh and spirit, and teach us to practise holiness in Thy fear, that we may receive in pure testimony of our conscience the portion of Thy blessings, and *may be made clean* by the holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, and worthily receiving them in us, may have *Christ dwelling in our hearts, and become a temple of the Holy Ghost.* Yea, our God, let no one become guilty by these Thy awful and Heavenly Mysteries, nor weak in soul and body through the unworthy partaking thereof: but grant to us to be worthy, so long as we live, to receive the hope of Thy blessings as the food on the way to Eternal Life, and as an acceptable justification before the fearful judgment-seat of Christ, that we, with all Saints who have been acceptable to Thee from the beginning, may be partakers of the eternal good things which Thou hast prepared for them that love Thee; and make us worthy, O Lord, sincerely and uncondemned, to be bold to call upon Thee, the Heavenly God and Father, and to say:"

(The Lord's Prayer as above, salutation of Peace and Blessing.)

The general type of the worship, as based upon the custom of the third century, and fixed by standing formularies, with amplified ceremonies, in the course of the fourth, is consequently the following:

Preparatory acts:

The symbolical Oblation, ending with the words of Institution.

The general Petition and Thanksgiving: based upon the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, as above explained.

The real Sacrificial act:

The Prayer by which the congregation consecrate themselves (by a vow of thankfulness) to God through Christ: concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

The Communion, in commemoration of Christ's propitiatory death.

The Liturgy called after Basil is, therefore, very likely the bridge of the Antiochene rite to that of Byzantium.

As to any further conjecture, historical criticism must move the previous question: On what document does it rest? For instance, it certainly is a very ingenious remark of Palmer's (i. 192. and following), that the Armenian Liturgy might be essentially that used in the Church of Cæsarea in Cappadocia at the time of Basil the Great, and connected with the name of Theodorus or of Gregory the Illuminator. But if we test this conjecture by the critical method discussed above, and assume as the original text of the fourth century what is common to the Greek Liturgy of St. Basil according to the Barberini MS., and the genuine Armenian text, we find nothing but a general analogy between them. Nor can we venture to throw out the conjecture, that, because the Armenian text has come down to us only through the suspected channel of the Roman Propaganda, that connexion has therefore been obscured. Thanks to the Russian researches of the Rev. J. M. Neale (i. 318. seq. and vol. ii.) we have since obtained a faithful English translation, made by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore from the Russian version of the Armenian archbishop Dolgorucky, published at St. Petersburg in 1799. Having compared this text with my Greek one of St. Basil, I find that they agree only in a very few inconclusive passages; whereas, whenever the groundwork is identical, the ancient elements strictly and constantly harmonize.

The most important point is, that the Byzantine Liturgy was preferred to the Western, when, in or about 987, the Grand Duke Vladimir, Olga's grandson, sent an embassy to Constan-

tinople, in the reign of Basilius Porphyrogenitus, in order to become acquainted with the worship in the imperial church of Sancta Sophia. The accounts, both of Nestor and of a Greek chronicler published by Banduri, mention on this occasion*,

* La Chronique de Nestor, traduite par Louis Paris; Paris, 1834; chap. viii. (I. p. 129.):

(987, Vladimir.) "Nous allâmes de là (des Bolgares) chez les Allemands: nous vîmes leurs églises et leur manière de prier; mais il n'y a là non plus ni ornemens ni beauté. Enfin nous arrivâmes chez les Grecs: on nous conduisit dans les lieux où se célèbre le service divin: nous ne savons pas trop si nous n'étions pas dans le ciel; car, en vérité, sur la terre il est impossible de trouver tant de richesse et de magnificence. Nous ne pourrions vous raconter ce que nous avons vu: tout ce que nous pouvons croire, *c'est que vraisemblablement on se trouve là en présence de Dieu*, et que le service divin des autres pays y est totalement éclipsé. Nous n'oublierons jamais tant de grandeur. Quiconque a goûté d'un si doux spectacle, ne trouvera plus nulle part rien qui lui plaise; aussi ne voulons-nous plus demeurer ici."

The account of the Byzantine writer in Banduri (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii. Animadversiones in Constantin. Porphyrog. p. 122.) is thus faithfully extracted by Karamsin (Histoire de la Russie, t. i. note 214. (to page 258—264.): "Le sage Prince expédia à Constantinople quatre ambassadeurs: ils exposèrent à l'Empereur Basile, le Macédonien (mistake for Porphyrogenite, compare Neander's History of the Church, iv. 117.), qui regnait alors sur la Grèce, la cause de leur voyage. Ce prince se fit un plaisir de les confier à quelques gens instruits, qui leur montrèrent les curiosités de la ville, et répondirent à leurs questions. Les Russes arrivèrent enfin dans la célèbre église de Sainte Sophie au moment où l'on y célébrait un service solennel; j'ignore si ce fût le jour de Saint-Jean-Chrysostôme, ou celui de l'Assomption de la Sainte-Vierge. Les ambassadeurs considérèrent avec curiosité le temple et les cérémonies religieuses. La multitude des lumières et le chant des hymnes saintes les saisirent d'étonnement. Ayant entendu, après vêpres et matines, la liturgie, les Russes voulurent savoir ce que signifiait la petite et la grande entrée (ἡ μικρὰ καὶ ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος), pourquoi les diacres et soudiacres sortent du sanctuaire avec des flambeaux, et pourquoi le peuple tombait à genoux en s'écriant: 'Kyrie eleison.' Les payens regardaient tout cela avec indifférence, quoique avec attention. Mais le Dieu de miséricorde leur désilla les yeux, afin qu'ils vissent un grand miracle, et qu'ils connussent la vérité. . . . . étonnés de ce phénomène extraordinaire, ils prirent leurs guides par la main, et leur dirent: 'Tout était ici effrayant et majestueux, mais ce que nous venons d'apercevoir est surnaturel. Nous avons vu de jeunes hommes ailés, vêtus de robes éclatantes, qui, sans toucher à terre, chantaient dans les airs, "Agios! agios! agios!" et c'est ce qui nous a le plus surpris.' 'Comme vous ignorez tous les mystères du christianisme,' leur répondirent les guides, 'vous ne savez pas que les anges

that the Russian ambassadors were particularly struck by the sight of people falling upon their knees when the deacons and subdeacons rushed out with torches, or as they said, young men with wings, clad in brilliant robes; scarcely touching the ground, and singing, Holy! Holy! Holy! The sly Byzantine grandees, or the interpreters who served as guides, said that mystery was easily explained: for, when their priests celebrated the divine service, the angels themselves descended from heaven." Now, this account seems to me to receive a striking illustration from a passage in the Homily on the Prodigal Son, printed in the works of St. Chrysostom, but the author of which was probably Severianus, bishop of Gabala in Syria, a cotemporary of Chrysostom. This passage, which, as far as I know, has never been adverted to in connexion with the account of that important embassy, most clearly states that the choristers of the Holy, Holy, Holy, had on their shoulders flying wings of linen, in imitation of the angels*; which proves that the expression in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, respecting those choristers, "they who mystically imitate the cherubim," is to be understood literally.

The philosophers of the eighteenth century would undoubtedly have been delighted with this anecdote, as being one of those

eux-mêmes descendent du ciel, et se mêlent à nos prêtres pour célébrer le service divin.' 'Vous dites vrai,' repliquèrent les Russes; 'nous n'avons pas besoin d'autres preuves, car nous avons tout vu de nos propres yeux. Renvoyez-nous dans notre patrie, afin que nous rapportions tout ceci à notre prince.'"

* Homil. de Filio prodigo, Bingham, XIII. 6. 6.: Ἐπίστασθε τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην, οἱ ταύτης γευσάμενοι καὶ μεμνημένοι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, τῶν λειτουργῶν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀθόναις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ὤμων κειμέναις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περιτρεχόντων καὶ βοώντων· μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων! μή τις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων! μή τις τῶν κατασκόπων! μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θεάσασθαι τὸ οὐράνιον αἷμα, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν! μή τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζώσης θυσίας! μή τις ἀμύητος! μή τις μὴ δυνάμενος ἀκαθάρτοις χείλεσι προσψαύσασθαι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων! εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐρανόθεν εὐφημούντων καὶ λεγόντων· ἅγιος ὁ πατὴρ ὁ θελήσας τυθῆναι τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτὸν, τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἅγιος ὁ υἱὸς, ἅμα καὶ μόσχος, ὁ ἀεὶ θυόμενος ἑκὼν καὶ ἀεὶ ζῶν· ἅγιος ὁ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ τὴν θυσίαν τελεπουργῆσαν.

facts which go to prove that great events are often decided by very small circumstances, and not unfrequently by fancies, and pious or impious fictions. I believe in the substantial truth of the Byzantine account, because the principal part of it is borne out by Nestor, who must have known men of the age of Vladimir, and because that peculiar trait of Slavonic enthusiasm and cool Byzantine imposition bears upon it the stamp of truth. But the whole is a proof that Olga had anticipated the instinct of her nation. The Slavonic tribes embraced the Byzantine worship (thus prophetically attaching their faith to Byzantium and the Sancta Sophia), because it suited their Oriental native character better than the Occidental rite. Besides, Byzantium was, from the time of Exarchate till the tenth and eleventh centuries, the real centre of art, of taste, and of fashion, particularly in whatever regarded solemnity and magnificence of ceremonies and of dress.

Some Sicilian bishops maintained in the time of Gregory the Great, that in his reform of the Liturgy he had followed throughout the rite of Byzantium. Gregory denies that scornfully. I think he was right as to the letter, although I believe he followed it here and there in the spirit; at least he found the Liturgy established at Byzantium when he revised that of Rome.

As to a connexion between the Liturgies of Byzantium and Rome in the fourth century, we know nothing. But the primitive Roman Liturgy of the first part of the second century was either Greek or connected with Greek sources: it bears a strong resemblance to the Liturgy of Antioch, but it has the Precatory Prayer in the same place as that of Alexandria; which seems to me to prove that it was coeval and substantially identical with that form which is preserved in the Abyssinian Church. The Precatory Prayer was at that period still left a free one, and therefore the Roman bishop might afterwards insert the formulary for this prayer in the same place where the Church of Alexandria has it in the second century, although the groundwork of the Liturgy had come to Rome from the elder Church of Antioch.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

The Sacramental Liturgies of the African Church, and the Ambrosian, the Gallican, and Mozarabic Liturgies.

THE really critical and luminous book on this subject is "Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana" (Par. 1729); with which, however, Muratori's "Liturgia vetus," the learned work of the good Prince-Abbot of St. Blasius, "Gerbert, de Liturgia Alemannica (S. Blas. 1776)," and Lorenzana's edition of the Mozarabic Liturgy (Rom. 1804), must be compared.

Of the African Liturgy we only know that it was thoroughly Latin and original, presenting in its principal features the general type of the other liturgies. I believe I have restored the complete order of the Service, as it was celebrated in the age of St. Augustin, and substantially in that of Cyprian.

As to the Liturgy of the Church of Milan, commonly called the Ambrosian rite, which was prevalent in a great part of Lombardy up to the time of Charlemagne, its canon is generally supposed to be lost; the Gregorian Canon, in taking its place, having swept away all the corresponding parts of the original liturgy of that ancient and illustrious Church. This, however, is an error. Not only can the whole order of the Consecration Service of the Ambrosian rite be restored, but the very words of the Consecration Prayer, as used in the seventh and eighth centuries, are preserved in our texts, of which that of Pamelius (1571) is the most genuine.

When the Roman Canon was introduced at Milan, about the time of Charlemagne, the sacerdotal Offertory and the words of Institution (already, in the dim mind of the Western Church, inseparably connected with the real act of the Church, the sacrificial centre of worship) had thrown the ancient Prayer of Consecration into the background. The decisive difference between the two rituals was, that the Ambrosian Prayer of Consecration was ever changing according to the occasion, and had

continued since the fourth century to be the subject of liturgical composition, whereas the Roman Prayer of Consecration, *Unde et memores*, was immutable, and had on the whole retained the ancient Greek type. When the Gregorian Canon was introduced at Milan, the Ambrosian form was preserved, as an innocent remnant of antiquity, for the peculiar services on festival days; and thus those forms of the Prayer "Post oblata," which correspond with the Gallican "Post secreta," have come down to us.

As to the relative antiquity of these Ambrosian formularies, we can, I believe, ascertain it only by a comparison with the corresponding prayers of the Gallican and Spanish *Sacramentaria*, and their prototype, the ancient Consecration Prayer of the East.

The Gallican and Spanish Liturgies we possess make no pretensions to have any higher origin than the time when the Goths ruled over Spain and the South of France. They are called Gothic Missals, and the Spanish Liturgy is expressly ascribed to Isidor, bishop of Hispalis, and his elder brother Leander, both the cotemporaries of Gregory the Great. This period (c. 550—650) was the most fertile one for compositions of Sacramentaries of a rhetorical character. They preserved the general type of the Church, but gave a new, and generally more concise, form to parts which had originally been extemporized, but since the end of the fourth century had been extremely lengthened and overloaded. Now the Prayer of Consecration was originally that of the Invocation of the Spirit, for the blessing of the people and their gifts. The next stage of development presents to us a more vague and general prayer for the Divine blessing according to Christ's promise and behest. In the last stage we find it dwindled into a form which proves that it appeared to the people almost as a supererogatory prayer, after the sacerdotal Offertory and the words of Institution then already identified with the act of consecration. It derives its tenor merely from the peculiar occasion of the service, a part of Christ's life, or a Saint's day, and founds upon that the general demand of Divine blessing. It is not surprising then, that in this stage the prayer should sometimes be addressed to

Christ, although this is against the constant practice and the express law of the Church of the third and fourth centuries.

Now the so-called Ambrosian Liturgy exhibits, with very few exceptions, only this very last stage; whereas the Gallican and Spanish rituals, published by Thomasius, Mabillon, and Muratori, still preserve many formularies of the second epoch. If, therefore, we cannot ascribe to the compilation of these Sacramentaries, a higher age than the seventh century, we shall be obliged to put that Ambrosian, which is before us, to the end of the seventh century or the earlier part of the eighth; in short, in the very last days of the Milanese Liturgy.

Such is the information derived from texts known down to this period. The subsequent discovery of two palimpsests, however, constitutes a new era for the history of the Communion Service in Western Europe: Niebuhr's St. Gall fragments of 350, and the Carlsruhe palimpsest of the early part of the sixth century, published by Mone in 1850. The Consecration Prayer of St. Gall runs thus:

"O God, Thou Author and Vouchsafer, Furtherer, Giver, and Granter of future immortality . . . . we pray Thee that the spirit of Thy servant (Thy handmaid) may not be committed to the gloomy darknesses of the abyss, or the fiery ovens of Gehenna, or the eternal cold of Tartarus, and may not enter into the place of punishment; but that it may rest in Abraham's bosom, and in the lap of Thy Patriarchs, and there await the time of Resurrection and the Day of Judgment, with the bliss of the immortality which shall follow it: for the sake of our Lord, who, in the night in which he was betrayed," [here follow the words of Institution.]

"Let now, we entreat Thee, most Merciful Father, through the invocation of Thy name, and through the outpouring of Thy Holy Ghost on all Creatures, this Creature (of Bread and Wine). . . ."

The expressions about Hades will remind the reader of a fragment of Hippolytus in his description of the same, discussed in the review of his writings.

I have not included in the testimonies respecting the Gallican Liturgy the Exposition of the Mass ascribed to St. Germanus, bishop of Paris about 555, which has been published by Martene

(Anecd. t. v. p. 90.), and is inscribed: "Germanus Episcopus Parisius scripsit de Missa."

The barbarous style, and the omission of the Consecration Prayers, or the canon*, prove the author to have been a writer of the eighth century, at the end of the Gallican Liturgy.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

The Sacramental Liturgy of the Church of Rome.

As Mabillon's book is the classical work for the Gallican Liturgy, so is Muratori's "Liturgia Romana vetus" (Venet. 1748, fol.) for the antiquities of the Roman. Le Brun's "Commentary" (1770) is a very sensible although not historically critical work; Cardinal Bona's book (1678), at once sensible and critical, had opened the right way. The first volume of Daniel's "Codex Liturgicus" (3 vols. 1847—1851) contains a useful introduction to this difficult subject.

Before we exhibit the striking peculiarity of the Roman ritual, in its predominantly precatory character, and its tendency to a propitiatory service, we must premise a few words respecting its history. Towards the middle of the fifth century, Leo the Great is said to have inserted some words into the Canon. Towards its close, Gelasius is reported to have composed some proper Prefaces for the Sacramental Service (Vere dignum et justum est, &c.). Pope Vigilius encloses in a letter of the year 538 the text of the Canon "Canonicæ precis," as that which he had received from Apostolic authority. But that enclosure has not been preserved. Finally, about the year 598,

* All he says about this part is the following:

"*Sursum corda* sacerdos habere admonet. *Confractio* et commixtio corporis Domini tantis mysteriis declarata antiquitus Sanctis Patribus fuit. In hac confractione Sacerdos vult augere, ibidem debet addere, quia tunc cœlestia terrenis miscentur. Sacerdote autem frangente, supplex clerus psaltet Antiphona (sic). *Oratio* vero *dominica* pro hoc ibidem ponitur, ut omnis oratio nostra in Dominica oratione claudatur. Sacerdotibus mandavit Dominus benedicere populum. . . . . Ante communionem *benedictio* traditur (Pax, fides, et charitas, etc.)."

Gregory the Great established the whole Consecration Service, as we are supposed to possess it now. As to the period from Leo to Gregory, it is generally supposed that we possess the Service, as arranged by Leo the Great, in a Sacramentarium published by Blanchini from a MS. at Verona (which, however, mentions the Imperium Francorum, and therefore cannot be older than the ninth century). Muratori thinks its most ancient elements belong to Felix III., about 488: but, at all events, as it does not contain the Canon, it is entirely useless for our purpose. The learned Cardinal Thomasius had published before that a Sacramentarium Gelasianum, from a Vatican MS. of the library of Queen Christina, probably of the tenth century. This certainly contains a Canon, but one so like that of Gregory, that none but controversialists can doubt of their identity.

Nothing can be more contrary to the general history of the Liturgies of the ancient Church, than to doubt that Leo the Great (about 440) found the Canon of the Roman Church already fixed in its essential parts. But it is impossible to trace this text back to the second century, without assuming that some remarkable change had been made in the mean time. A tradition, preserved in a very ignorant manner by the *Liber Pontificalis*, says that Alexander, who was bishop of Rome from 100 to 106, had joined the "Passion of our Lord to the Eucharistic prayers." These words (which we give, with all the other testimonies, in the Reliquiæ Liturgicæ) have hitherto appeared inexplicable or entirely mythical. I believe they are neither the one nor the other. They but record a truly historical fact in a very rude manner. They mark the epoch of transition from the celebration of the Communion in the Pauline age as a real Supper (Agape), to its celebration in the morning as a service; a transition which in Asia certainly must have taken place already in the Johannean age, or, at the latest, in the first years of the second century. The celebrated description of the younger Pliny (110) implies that the custom was already established in his province, Pontus and Bithynia. The circumstance of Ignatius of Antioch (who died in 107) being brought into connexion with the same phasis, not as the

founder, but as one who added to the solemnity of that service by psalmody, entirely agrees with these facts. The tradition of the Roman Church, which fixes for this epoch the very first years of the second century, or about seventeen years after the death of Clemens, the disciple of St. Paul, is therefore, in itself, perfectly credible. But this tradition is moreover the commencement of a series of well-connected accounts. The more decided line of demarcation between clergy and laity, which, as the different texts of the Apostolical Constitutions show, must have taken place in the earliest part of the second century, and of course must have affected also that service, is ascribed to Xystus*, the successor of Alexander (107 — 116). To the same bishop is ascribed the introduction of the Sanctus, to be said before the words of Institution. We have seen that the liturgical use of the Trisagion originated in the Church of Antioch, probably as part of the liturgical arrangements of Ignatius, and that it was not a part of the Alexandrian Liturgy in the first half of the second century. This account of the "Liber Pontificalis" therefore, when rightly understood, is also borne out by historical facts and authentic records. Now the successor of Xystus was Telesphorus (117—127). To him is attributed a new feature in the development of the earliest Roman Liturgy: he is said, in the "Liber Pontificalis," to have introduced into the nocturnal celebration of the Eucharist at Christmas the ancient morning and sacramental hymn of the Eastern Church, the "Gloria in excelsis," or the so-called Doxologia major, which we afterwards find in the general Eucharistic Service of the Church of Rome, and the Latin text of which is ascribed to Hilarius of Poictiers, in the middle of the fourth century. With Telesphorus the most obscure period of the Roman Church terminates; his successor, Hyginus, was the cotemporary of Hadrian, Valentinus, and Marcion; and Pius, who succeeded him, that of

* It is curious that in the Syrian Liturgy called after St. Xystus, the "Sanctus" and the "Gloria in excelsis," in all its parts, is predominant throughout. See Renaudot, tome ii. p. 134. His text contains the words of the Institution of the Eucharist, although he confesses in a note that it is wanting "in almost all the copies."

Justin Martyr, whose description of the Eucharistic Service harmonizes with the picture which those records of the Roman annalists enable us to form of the earliest state of the Liturgy of that Church. Under the next pontificate, that of Anicetus (150—163), Polycarp came to Rome. Clemens of Alexandria, the head of the Alexandrian University, was cotemporary of Soter, the successor of Anicetus (164—172). Under Eleutherus (173—187), Irenæus was made bishop of Lyons, and Origen was born at Alexandria. Irenæus is expressly stated to have officiated during his visit to Rome, at the request and in the presence of Victor, the successor of Eleutherus (188—199). Zephyrinus, who succeeded Victor (200—218), is now well known to us by the work of Hippolytus. It was he who, according to the "Liber Pontificalis," trenched upon the Oblation of the People: for it was ordained by him (says the chronicler) that the deacons alone were to carry the oblations to the altar, and that the people were to receive the consecrated bread (corona) through them. In other words, the laity were kept out of the chancel.

From this time to that of Leo the Great, almost two centuries and a half later, we hear absolutely nothing of the state of the Roman Liturgy. What we find established under Leo, as fixed in all its essential parts, is a series of Prayers of Consecration, decidedly different from the rite of the Church of Milan, and from those of the Gauls and of Spain. And this difference is one of epoch. The Roman Canon represents altogether a later period, which we may call the abbreviated and eclectic, whereas the Liturgies of the Churches just named exhibit, from the end of the third to that of the fourth century, an anterior period, the last phasis of which is the adorned and rhetorical character. The regular Byzantine Liturgy bears in point of style the same character as the Roman, particularly that which is called after St. Chrysostom, and is evidently an abbreviation of a Liturgy which had become too prolix by rhetorical amplification. The compositions in the Sacramentaries which bear the names of Leo and Gelasius exhibit sufficient specimens of that style. This change can scarcely have been later than the time of Damasus (366—384), and not earlier than

that of Sylvester (314—335), or of his successors, Marcus (336) and Julius (336—352).

I think it highly probable that this alteration was connected with the change of the liturgical language from Greek into Latin. It is certainly a fact that Greek is the official language of all Roman bishops from Clement to Cornelius (251), and that we hear nothing of a decided liturgical difference between Rome and the other Churches before the age of Augustin, or the beginning of the fifth century. But the circumstance connected with the account given by Gregory himself of his Canon, seems to confirm at all events the supposition of a decided change made, not by Gregory, but by one of his predecessors in the fourth century.

Proceeding to the critical history of this Canon of Gregory the Great, we must first observe, that the present official text, as established after the Council of Trent, differs in some essential points from that exhibited by the ancient MSS. But, if we apply strict historical criticism to the genuine Gregorian text, it is impossible not to see (what some ancient commentators, especially Walafrid, the learned abbot of Reichenau near Basle, indeed surmised) that it is a patchwork of materials which various circumstances had assisted to throw into great confusion. It is here only necessary to point to the gradual cessation of the regular Oblation of the People before each celebration of the Lord's Supper, and to the introduction of symbolical prayers, intended, not to accompany the real Oblation, but to supply its place, or to the introduction of the earliest form of the Offertory, in the sense of the Medieval Church.

We believe that from our point of view we are able to solve this enigma more satisfactorily than has been hitherto done.

The first startling fact is, that Gregory himself declares, in his letter to the bishop of Syracuse, of the year 598 (the text is given in the Reliquiæ), that when he revised and definitively settled the Consecration Prayer, or the Canon, he ordered the Lord's Prayer to be said immediately after the Ecclesiastical Prayer of Consecration. "I did so," he says, "because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the Sacrifice (hostiam)

of Oblation only by that prayer. It appeared to me very strange that we should repeat over the Oblation the prayer which a learned man (scholasticus) had composed, and not repeat over His body and blood the very words delivered to us as composed by our Saviour Himself."

Strange as it is, thus he found it. Wherever the Lord's Prayer was said in the Communion Service of the Church of Rome, it did not form, in the written ritual of that Church, a part of the Consecration Prayers, of which it is, nevertheless, one of the two original germs. These prayers begin immediately after the ancient Offertory,—that is to say, after the solemn act of the offerings of the people for the sacred meal,—and end immediately before the Communion. Now, if Gregory did not find it, Leo the Great and his immediate successors could not have found it either, nor have committed it to writing, when they were engaged upon the Eucharistic Liturgy.

We have seen that Gregory's assertion respecting the Consecration Prayer having originated in the recital of the Lord's Prayer is true, and, when rightly understood, strictly accurate. The Church enlarged the Scriptural prayer into her Communion Prayer at so early a period, that her amplifications crept even into the sacred text. By the side of it a free Prayer of Thanksgiving was uttered on that occasion, whenever the spirit moved the minister to pronounce words in that sense. But, in the course of the fourth century, the free Prayer of Consecration had been exchanged for enlarged fixed formularies, varying in expression according to the usage of every leading Church. When this change took place, the Lord's Prayer might, however, as well be left out in the written formulary, it being understood at that time that it was the concluding part of the free prayer before the Communion. The whole ceremony, however, soon became so involved by the additional prayers, and free prayer grew so obsolete, in the Communion Service in particular, that whatever was not written down might gradually be considered as uncanonical, and disappear as unauthorized in consequence. Such an omission would happen the more easily if the original Liturgy were in Greek.

As the substitution of a set Oblation Prayer for the act of real substantial Oblation must have diminished the transparency of the original service, so another circumstance contributed most particularly to swell the Consecration Prayers, and to throw the Sacramentaries, or Missals of the Church, into confusion. These were the peculiar prayers inserted from the diptychs, or sacred registers of the names of the benefactors, confessors, and martyrs of the Church. They might be read wherever a peculiar commemoration was appointed of persons, whether living, present, absent, or deceased. Such a commemoration might be inserted immediately after the Oblation and the Preface at the beginning of the Sacrificial Service, or as part of that Consecration Prayer which immediately preceded the Communion, after the words of Institution. What we know positively is, that the commemoration of the living was read by the deacon, out of the diptychs. It was, therefore, originally separate from the prayers offered by the priests; and it was naturally a changeable prayer, and was only to be said when occasion required. How easily might this be mistaken for a part of the fixed prayers of the priest! Such a commemoration of the living was, or might be, according to the vague idea of the Communion of Saints, accompanied with a mention of the triumphant Church of the Apostles, and the Virgin Mary, and other holy men and women in the earlier ages of the Church in general, or of the particular Church in question. In the Roman Canon such a commemoration occurs immediately before the Lord's Prayer: "*Memento etiam, Domine,*" &c. This furnishes primitive proof of its being an undue insertion in the ordinary Communion Service, and of its having been introduced into it (by a mere misunderstanding, I suppose) from the Missa pro Defunctis. It is not found in the Gelasian Sacramentary: and a very ancient Gregorian Sacramentary, quoted very conclusively for that purpose by Daniel, states expressly that it was destined for the Missa pro Defunctis. Now if this prayer be extraneous to the original ordinary services, that which follows, "*Nobis quoque precatoribus,*" must necessarily also be eliminated, because it is in fact nothing but its second part.

But the mention of the Apostles and martyrs and other saints in the former part of the service, or in the Oblation Prayer beginning with the word "*Communicantes*," appears to belong originally to the general text. Its place is the same as that in the Alexandrian Liturgy which was used in the time of Origen. For in that beautiful Liturgy the heroes of faith are also mentioned as part of the Thanksgiving before the Invocation. Nor does the order in which the names of the Saints occur in the Roman Canon at all militate against the antiquity of this prayer. The Apostles are, on the whole, named as they occur in the first two Gospels, with the insertion of St. Paul, and a reasonable liberty as to the place of St. Thomas and St. James, who here precede St. Philip and St. Bartholomew. The martyrs are classed, as Le Brun has already observed, according to their station: first, the martyr bishops of Rome; then bishop Cyprian; then St. Laurentius, the archdeacon of the Roman Church; lastly, lay martyrs. The catalogue goes down to the times of Julian the Apostate (Johannis et Pauli); another proof that the set prayers were not written down till after the middle of the fourth century, at the earliest.

Now as to the first word of this celebrated prayer, "*Communicantes*," nobody has ever been able to construe it. Absolutely, as it stands, it can mean nothing but the "Communicants:" which gives no sense. Neither sense nor grammar admits of its being construed with the following genitives. But if we consider that the preceding prayer, "*Memento, Domine, famularum*," in its original text, is the deacon's prayer, which became obsolete when the real Offering of the People ceased, except in some few instances (and this was the case already in the sixth century at the latest), the prayer "*Communicantes*" manifestly follows the last words of the first prayer of the Canon, "*Te, igitur, clementissime Pater*," which makes the construction and sense correct and satisfactory.

This first prayer is followed by two short prayers, of which the one begins, "*Hanc igitur oblationem*," the other, "*Quam oblationem.*" The beginning of the first is evidently the conclusion of the Oblation Prayer, supplicating God to accept this oblation of His servants and children: the second ends with

introducing the words of Institution, "*Qui pridie.*" Now we know that St. Gregory amplified the first. John the Deacon, his biographer, says he added the words, "*diesque nostras in tuâ pace disponas;*" which cardinal Bona understands (naturally) as implying that the remaining words of this prayer,

"Atque ab æternâ damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum numero jubeas nos numerari"

were also added by Gregory.

But, if we adopt this view, it is clear that the preceding words of the prayer which Gregory found,

"Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus, Domine, ut placatus accipias,"

did not constitute a prayer by themselves, but were only the beginning of a prayer. And, indeed, the next prayer opens rather awkwardly at present, by referring to the first words of the preceding one: "*Quam oblationem* tu Deus in omnibus *quæsumus.*" The original form, therefore, must have been this:

"Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus ut placatus accipias; atque in omnibus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie," &c.

The prayer "*Unde memores*" which follows the words of Institution, represents, in its beginning (Μεμνημένοι οὖν) and its whole tenour, the universal type of the Eastern Liturgies. It is followed by the Prayer of Invocation. In this prayer the Greeks, as we have seen, prayed that God might send down His Holy Spirit upon the people and upon their gifts, or that the Holy Spirit might descend upon both, in order to sanctify the congregation and the elements. Here God is supplicated to order his angel to bring the Sacrifice (the prayers and vows of the people) to the heavenly altar. This obscure expression is referred by Le Brun to Christ the High Priest, as the Angel of God in the eminent sense, in allusion to two passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 24. and xiii. 10.); by Bona to the "angel of prayer," in allusion to Apoc. viii. 3., which is the

more natural interpretation, and conformable to the Alexandrian ritual.

At all events, this prayer is neither so spiritual nor so primitive as the Greek one. The benediction of the people consecrating themselves, originally the principal part of the Consecration Service, has dwindled into a rhetorical collect. The whole prayer "Supplices te rogamus" appears as an appendix, inserted before the concluding doxology (probably by Leo the Great), in order to strengthen the prayer "Unde memores." The superior wisdom of Rome showed itself in making these Consecration Prayers standing formularies when the free prayer ceased; whereas, in the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish rites of that age, they were considered changeable according to the occasion. Vigilius points to this circumstance, with just pride, in his letter to the Spanish bishop.

According to the general usage of the rest of Christendom, Gregory made the Lord's Prayer a part of the written liturgy, with a short introduction before; and added an explanatory collect upon the last petition, "Sed libera nos a malo," as a standing concluding prayer.

In order to render the whole perfectly clear, we give in the fifth chapter of the Reliquiæ, first, the present official text, with a notice of the reading of the ancient MSS., and other explanatory remarks; secondly, the restored genuine text of Gregory the Great, as it was understood by him; finally, the Roman Liturgy, as according to documents and statements it must have been before Leo the Great, and, substantially, about the middle of the fourth century. In Hippolytus' time, however, this must have been somewhat different. The Oblation of the People was still in vigour, the Preface was followed by a free Prayer of Thanksgiving: after which the words of Institution introduced a Consecration Prayer, scarcely fixed, and the Lord's Prayer with the doxology, concluded the service before the Communion.

I give in the Appendix to the fifth chapter of the Reliquiæ, out of a palimpsest of Monte Casino coeval with Gregory the Great, the text of the Præfatio and other fragments, which prove this Sacramentarium to be that of Gregory.

FINAL RESULT.

We commenced our liturgical researches by pointing out the general characteristics of the form of sacramental worship in the great epochs of the ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries, and by establishing the principles according to which the historical affinities of ancient Liturgies might be safely and successfully discovered. We then went through the records and the liturgical texts of those centuries according to the leading Churches of ancient Christianity, as far as they are capable of reconstruction upon the faith of genuine documents.

On looking back to the course we have pursued in the preceding pages, we have, I believe, obtained the following results.

Liturgical formularies, beyond the framework represented in the Text-Book, began to be used, with great local and individual liberty, about the middle of the second century; not as originating a new form of Service, nor as recording literally a fixed liturgical custom. The purport of the most ancient records is to exhibit what within a certain sphere had been the general custom of the earliest age, that is to say, of the end of the first and the beginning of the second century, or in the Johannean and Ignatian age. What else, indeed, could the authors of the so-called Apostolical Liturgies do, when a very considerable part of the Service was still at their time essentially free and variable, and when it had originally been still more so? We must abandon both the later idea, still cherished by Bingham, of a Liturgy as a fixed formulary, and that negative assumption which he combated, of there having been no fixed form whatever. To express plainly what I think, we may assert that the first attempt to write down a Liturgy was that of presenting a general, not descriptive but suggestive, view of the extemporization within a certain framework. That this was possible, is explained by the biblical character of the liturgical formularies, and by the common spirit pervading Apostolical

Christianity. The phenomenon is wonderful, but not miraculous; sublime, but perfectly intelligible. The miraculous and the mystical are in the heads of those who have misunderstood and misinterpreted antiquity; or in the theological systems of such as have endeavoured to confound and obscure that which, if faithfully explained and clearly understood, would contradict what later ages have made out of primitive Christianity. It is the Spirit which has created the Form, and this Spirit rests upon the words and injunctions of Christ, piously followed up and applied according to the exigencies of the time under the guidance of that general Christian consciousness in which the Christians of all ages find realized the promises of the Spirit left to the Apostles, and to those who through them believe in Christ.

The Eucharist was at first a holy Supper of thankful remembrance and of sincere brotherly love, coupled with the Prayers, which grew into a complete form of rational worship.

If, then, such were the origin and most ancient development of the Eucharistic Service, the first record of it was, in its details, necessarily rather a representation of the substance of what used generally to be said in the free prayers, than a literal copy of any fixed form. It further follows, that we should do as much wrong to those records by considering them to be historical, as by regarding them as impositions, or, at least, as ideal schemes. They turn out to have been faithfully based upon what in the ancient Service was held to be essential, and customary from the beginning, as far as the memory of the Church went. As this substance was traditional, and could not be referred to any regulation of Councils or Synods, or to any composition of some eminent Father, it was very natural to attribute the records of this gradual formation of the Spirit during the first three ages of Christianity (St. Paul, St. John, and Ignatius), either to the Apostles all together, as being those who had laid down the leading principles, and planted the earliest germs of the Church; or to some one among them (as St. James, or St. Peter); or to some Evangelist who was personally connected, or supposed to be connected, with the particular Church, as St. Mark or Clemens.

Such a proceeding is neither more nor less mythical than any other form of hypostatizing the Spirit: but it is an uncritical proceeding to overlook what is really historical in such a process of formation; and almost madness to consider such a process even possible, without that very impulse which the genuine records of the Gospel reveal to us in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

The beautiful specimen of the first liturgical epoch preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions presents a character of great simplicity, and thoroughly biblical. There is a beginning of doctrinal expression and of rhetorical diction, but both are in their first infancy, and used very charily; a character doubly precious, if we consider the formulary as essentially suggestive. I propose to call this epoch the traditional, and this style the suggestive. What is here given corresponds in its contents and simplicity, with what we know from the early apologetic writers of the time of Hadrian and the Antonines, and, in particular, with Justin Martyr, and the official account of the Christian worship he gives in his Greater Apology. The groundwork is Evangelical; the form, as to its framework, Apostolic; the liturgical language Biblical, and replete with allusions to the Prophets and the Psalms; the style, finally, is one of the greatest simplicity, with a nascent attempt at giving the sentences a Hellenic turn.

The *second period* of liturgical composition, in the beginning of the second century, exhibits a great progress in this respect, but also the dangers of incipient rhetoricism and ritualism. The Liturgy is no longer traditional, but a work of composition. It is no longer suggestive of a text which may be enlarged upon by the meditation of the individual and by the inspiration of the moment, but it is as extended as any free prayer can be. It reduces to writing what such a meditation and such an inspiration would produce if severely digested and concentrated. But it does so rather as a model than as a literally fixed formulary. The third century did not feel itself bound by the letter of the traditional form of the first epoch, neither did it impose on the Church the restraint of a literally fixed formulary. The next age indeed, as we have seen, still used that model with great

Christian liberty. Liturgical liberty is, at this period, much more restricted than it was in the preceding age: but it is not extinct. There is still place for free prayer and for silent prayer. In point of style, as well as in the depth of Christian thought embodied in the liturgical formularies, we perceive the great advance of Hellenism, and in particular the influence of the Alexandrian university. The best recorded and most splendid specimen of liturgical composition of this epoch is the enlarged Liturgy of this same Church, based upon that early tradition, of which an unadulterated text has been providentially preserved in the interior of Africa. The most striking part of this composition is the General Prayer for Christ's Church. We find such prayer in the traditional Liturgy of the second century. It grew out of the Hebraizing form of the Oriental Litany (or General Prayer, the Catholica), of which the English Bidding Prayer before the sermon is a wreck. Its germ was a silent prayer of the people directed by short and striking hortatory formulas, which were pronounced by the deacon, with solemn pauses between; commencing with the words, "Let us pray" (or "Let us intensely pray," or "Let us pray more intensely") for the poor, for the sick, for the persecuted brethren, for the departed, and so on.

The style of that beautiful Precatory Prayer of the second Alexandrian Liturgy may be considered as the perfection to which liturgical composition attained in the ancient Church. It is decidedly artistic, and of the best patristic Greek. The diction is slightly imbued here and there with the rhetorical character of the age. In short, it represents the culminating point of ancient liturgical composition and intellectual devotion. It may be considered, on the whole, as perfect, if we assume, as I believe we must, that it was originally intended rather as a model than a literal formulary; and that not only silent prayer continued to form part of the usual service of the time, but that free prayer also was not excluded.

I propose therefore to call this style the model Church style. We shall appreciate the merits of those compositions better, by comparing them with the theoretical Liturgy of that age of theological confusion which separates Origen and the Nicene

period, I mean the Liturgy of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. This hybrid composition assumes the antiquity of the Apostolic form, in order to insinuate nascent doctrinal formularies. It presents, instead of the Apostolic and traditional simplicity, a rhetorical development which degenerates into turgid and tedious verbosity. Even at the best, it is a sermon addressed to God, going through the whole spiritual history of the world. The idea is not only good but grand: though adapted rather to a sermon, or to a chapter of the spiritual history of the world. What may be inspiring as a sermon, and endurable as an extemporized prayer, becomes insupportable as a fixed formulary; a truth of which Baxter's proposed Liturgy is the most remarkable and the most dignified specimen.

The *third period* of real Church Liturgies exhibits the rhetorical style; the style of Basilian and Chrysostomean sermons, and of Ambrosian treatises, adapted to liturgical composition.

What really belongs to this age, or is still more ancient, is common to the liturgical texts of the Byzantines and Dissidents of the fifth century, in the Liturgies both of Alexandria and of Antioch.

The rhetorical style increased in the course of the fourth, and still more in the fifth century, to such a degree, that the leading men of that time felt the necessity of condensing the Liturgies by a more concise and formulistic style. This process was carried on principally in the Churches of the two metropolises of the empire, Byzantium and Rome. The Liturgy called after St. Basil, and still more that which bears the name of St. Chrysostom, are the products of this tendency. The Church of Rome put her seal of prosaic Roman solemnity and literality upon the same, very early in the fifth century, or more probably in the latter part of the fourth. We call this style by a general name, the eclectic. The Byzantine and Roman Liturgies are especially eclectic; they corrected the turgid provincialism, but slightly retouched the best formularies they could find in the old compositions. Thus these two latter periods, of which we give both the Byzantine and Roman texts, form the frame of the liturgical picture we have endeavoured to draw. They

represent at the same time the groundwork of that which, with its medieval extension and corruption, claimed at the time of the reformation Apostolical authority. They thus connect our criticism of the Liturgies of the ancient Church with that of the modern rituals.

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ELEMENTA LITURGICA.

PROŒMIUM.

QUID nobis in reliquiis liturgicis colligendis propositum fuerit præstare, in câ quæ e primâ operis nostri editione repetita præcedit præfatione Anglico sermone conscriptâ fusius explicavimus. Voluimus scilicet sub uno conspectu formulas exhibere liturgicas, quæcunque ante concilium Nicææ habitum si non literis mandatæ certe in usu fuisse viderentur, eo modo indagandæ, ut, quas diversæ in orbe terrarum ecclesiæ haberent communes, quum post concilium demum illud vehementes illæ partium pugnæ in orbe christiano ortæ sint, dissidio illo antiquiores haberentur. Quâ tamen in re qui fuerunt versati, infitias ire haud facile potuerint, esse proponenda non pauca, quæ ita intermixta serioris ævi fructibus præbeant antiquiora, ut dispesci utraque nequeant. Romanæ ecclesiæ inter omnes constat liturgias non exstare quæ testibus historicis Gregorio magno vel anno a Christo nato fere sexcentesimo antiquiores esse probari possint: conjecturâ tantum duce altius adscendere valemus. Quæ vero in editione priori verbulo tantum indicata exstabat Græcorum et Syrorum congruentia, nunc suo loco exscriptâ latinâ Eusebii Renaudotii Syriacorum versione melius lectoris quasi ante oculos posita est.

Christianam religionem scimus, quum ubivis modo hebraicæ modo græcæ vitæ aut filia aut emendatrix appareret, etiam ubi primum carmine summum numen celebrare non docuit sed incepit, duplici via progressam fuisse. Nunc enim Hebræorum modo christiani psalmos canebant ita, ut *ἀντιφωνικῶς* quæ uno sticho dixissent altero repeterent, augerent, firmarent, oratione non ligatâ voces alternati, nunc Græcorum morem sequuti hymnos, continuo orationis tenore si non metrice, ita tamen decurrentes ut metrorum speciem quandam præ se ferrent. Habes infra collectas utriusque generis

reliquias antiquissimas. In ipsis novi testamenti libris apud Lucam exhibentur hebraico modo composita Mariæ, Zachariæ, Simeonis cantica: servavit quæ non biblica essent verum antiquitus usitata atque ex ipsis sacræ scripturæ locis consarta codex Alexandrinus celeberrimus ille in museo britannico adservatus psalmos matutinos duos, vespertinum unum. Quem primum loco posuimus, Plinio minori cognitum fuisse non absimile est, quum Christum a Christianis ille tanquam deum carmine celebrari divo Trajano relatum volebat. Ὕμνον ἀγγελικὸν nunc appellant Græci, recepit ad exitum vergente sæculo quarto in latinas ecclesias Hilarius Pictaviensis, unde etiam nunc apud Romanos, si celebretur eucharistia, doxologiæ magnæ vel majoris nomine post absolutionem quæ dicitur hic ipse psalmus cani consuevit: quem legimus etiam in constitutionum apostolicarum libro septimo, sed ab homine orthodoxo serioris ævi interpolatum. Neque sine fructu hæ tres editiones comparantur inter sese. Videmus enim constitutionum apostolicarum compilatorem non legisse verba καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, quæ Hilarius quoque loco quo habere debebat omisit, ad finem psalmi 'cum sancto spiritu' exhibens. Clarum inde, ut opinor, primitus nihil tale adfuisse, imo spiritus sancti mentionem tum demum necessariam visam esse, ubi trinitatis dogma antiquissimo cuivis testi obtrudere e religione duci cœptum est. Videmus porro versum κύριε ὁ θεὸς a constitutionibus apostolicis eo sensu non poni, quo codex alexandrinus et Hilarius utuntur, quum ad patrem in constitutionibus referatur, a codice alexandrino vero ad trinum deum, ut videtur, θεὸν scilicet παντοκράτορα, υἱὸν μονογενῆ et ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ad Christum denique ab Hilario et Romanis. Ad trinitatem referri non poterat ante addita ab interpolatore verba καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, quæ si jure nostro ejicimus, de Christo dici non possunt, quum ita vocare Christum ne somnio quidem ausa fuerit ecclesia antiquissima. Nihil ita reliquum nisi ut ad deum patrem relata finem commatis primi esse judicemus et eam ob causam transponamus sicut in psalmi restitutione a nobis factum vides. Psalmum matutinum alterum et psalmum vespertinum codex alexandrinus uno tenore scriptos exhibet, quâ re magnus Usserius in errorem inductus est, quippe qui totum circum labentis diei

tempus cani solitum fuisse voluerit. Sed quî, quæso, cubitum iturus aliquis precetur: *καταξίωσον, κύριε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς?* Imo separandi sunt psalmi sicut nos fecimus, voce *ἀμὴν* satis illi distincti. In occidente nullum alterius hujus psalmi matutini vestigium superstes est, nisi quod canticum ambrosianum ipsum versum Luc. 2, 14, e quo matutinum psalmum ortum esse credimus transsumpserit.

Hactenus de psalmis ad morem hebraicum conformatis: hymnus græcum modum accuratius imitatus unus tantum ætatem tulit quum accenderentur lucernæ cani solitus, de quo bene olim Usserius disseruit. Quemadmodum enim Græci teste Varrone de lingua latina libro quinto, quum lumen adferretur, dicere fuerunt soliti *φῶς ἀγαθόν*: ita et Christiani suum *φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης* in laudem illius qui est *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης θεοῦ* canere consueverunt. Et bene hunc ipsum hymnum idem respici docuit a Basilio in libro de spiritu sancto ad Amphilochium scribente, capite 29: *ἔδοξε τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν μὴ σιωπῇ τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ φωτὸς δέχεσθαι ἀλλ' εὐθὺς φανέντος εὐχαριστεῖν· καὶ ὅστις μὲν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκείνων τῆς ἐπιλυχνίου εὐχαριστίας εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἔχομεν. ὁ μέντοι λαὸς ἀρχαίαν ἀφίησι τὴν φωνὴν καὶ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀσεβεῖν ἐνομίσθησαν οἱ λέγοντες· αἰνοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ.*

Baptismi sunt, quæ liturgias præcedere jussimus ecclesiæ antenicææ symbola, pauca tantum, sed sola fere quæ certo pro antiquis vendere audeamus. Ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolum, quod quum ipsa ecclesia Romana primis sæculis græca non latina fuerit (abunde probantibus C. Lachmanno et N. Wisemano), Græcum fuisse constat, e Marcelli Ancyrani epistola ad Julium Romanum data sumpsimus: qui quidem Marcellus non expressis verbis se Romanam regulam profiteri dicit, sed ceterorum testium consensu, Augustini, Rufini, Leonis Magni, aliorum; ita fecisse convincitur. Accedebat ad recommendandam hanc potissimum formulam, quod pyrissima sit iisque careat, quæ cetera symbola Romana interpolatoris manu intrusa habent.

Quæ feruntur Gregorii Thaumaturgi, Luciani martyris, ecclesiæ Antiochenæ symbola, aut non ecclesiæ fidem professæ, sed theologorum regulæ scholasticas quæstiones redolentium, aut non citra dubitationem posita, utrum genuina sint necne.

Adeant quibus talia cordi sunt F. Walchii bibliothecam symbolicam Lemgoviæ A. D. 1770 editam et Augusti Hahnii librum Vratislaviensem anni 1842: Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der apostolisch-katholischen Kirche.

Addidissem symbolum in septimo constitutionum apostolicarum libro capite xli. servatum, quum sæculi tertii esse credam, verum non ab ecclesia sed ab homine aliquo docto in musei umbra compositum, nisi constitutiones apostolicæ integræ alio operis hujus volumine ederentur.

I.

ORATIO DOMINICA

Matt. vi. 9. Luc. xi. 2.

A. EX MATTHÆO.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·
Ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς [1] ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ [2] γῆς·
Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν [3] τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·
Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·
Ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.[4]

[1] ὡς auctoritate Vaticani, Cantabrigiensis et Dublinensis codicis, item Cypriani et Hilarii firmatur: omissum ὡς in Cantabrigiensi manu prima et a latinis codicibus Vercellensi, Veronensi, Colbertino.

[2] ἐπὶ τῆς Cantabrig., contra omittunt articulum Vaticanus et Dublinensis.

[3] ἀφήκαμεν cum Vatic. Dublin., contra ἀφίομεν Cantabrig., e Latinis Veronensis, Colbertinus et Cyprianus.

[4] Recepta addit: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

B. E LUCA.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· [1]
Ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· [2]
Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· [3]
Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
[ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·] [4]
Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου [5] ἡμῖν τὸ [6] καθ ἡμέραν· [7]
Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας [8] ἡμῶν
(καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν [9] παντὶ [10] ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν, [11])
Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·
Ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. [12]

[1] ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς omitt. Vatican. et vulgata Latina et semel Origenes, habent idem Origenes alio loco et Alexandr. Cantabrig. Guelferbytanus græci et Veronensis Vercellensis, Colbertinus Latini, nisi quod pro ἡμῶν Veronensis et Colbertinus habeant (ἅγιε) sancte.

[2] ἐφ' ἡμᾶς add. Cantabrigiensis.

[3] σου ἡ βασιλεία Cantabrigiensis.

[4] γενηθήτω — γῆς omittere Lucam testis est Origenes I. 240° et omittit ipse, Vaticano et vulgata versione adstipulantibus. habent Alex. Ephræmi rescriptus, Cantabrigiensis, Guelferbytanus, et Latini tres supra nominati. Sed ὡς omittit Vercellensis. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Guelferbytanus.

[5] δίδου Alex. Vatic. Guelferbyt. Origenes. δὸς Cantabrig.

[6] τὸ semper omitt. Origenes.

[7] καθ' ἡμέραν semper Origenes, Alex. Vatic. Guelferbyt. vulgata (quæ tamen anceps hæret). σήμερον eadem vulgata Cantabrig. et tres codd. Latini jam nominati.

[8] τὰ ὀφειλήματα substituit Cantabrigiensis; adstipulantibus Vercellensi et Colbertino.

[9] ἀφήκαμεν semel Origenes, idem bis ἀφίομεν et ita codices Græci.

[10] παντὶ τῷ Origenes.

[11] ἀφείομεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν Cantabrig. Vercellensis et Colbertinus.

[12] ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι etc. Origenes Lucam omittere dicit; ipse et vulg. omitt. Contra tuentur Alex. Cantabr. Vercell. Colbert.

Nota. Marcionem inter omnes constat in evangelio suo non habuisse verba ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου. Audi Tertullianum adversus Marcionem, iv. 26: et ipse in eum docuit orationem, quem discipulus usque adhuc

noverat. Denique sensus orationis quem deum sapiant recognosce. Cui dicam : pater ? ei qui me omnino non fecit, a quo originem non traho, an ei qui me faciundo et instruendo generavit ? A quo spiritum sanctum postulem ? a quo nec mundialis spiritus præstatur, an a quo fiunt etiam angeli spiritus, cujus et in primordio spiritus super aquas ferebatur ? Ejus regnum optabo venire etc. Satis apparet vel Tertullianum acerrimum Marcionis impugnatorem hoc pro emendatione Marcionis non habuisse, sed variam lectionem in orthodoxorum etiam codicibus obviam agnovisse. Atque ita Gregorius Nyssenus similia quædam tradit, Opp. I. pag. 737 D et 738 A ed. Morelli A. D. 1638 : *ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου ἢ καθὼς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκᾶ τὸ αὐτὸ νόημα σαφέστερον ἑρμηνεύεται· ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐλθεῖν ἀξιῶν τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος συμμαχίαν ἐπιβοᾶται· οὕτως γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ εὐαγγελίῳ φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· ἐλθέτω, φησι, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς . . . . . ὃ Λουκᾶς πνεῦμα ἅγιον λέγει, Ματθαῖος βασιλείαν ὠνόμασεν.* Vides non eodem loco hæc substituta legisse Marcionem et Gregorium, sed eadem legisse utrumque.

ORATIO DOMINICA

Secundum Cod. Vatic.	Secundum cod. Alexandr. ceterosque codd. Antiqq.
XI. 2.	
Πάτερ·	Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς·
I. ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·	I. ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
II. ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·	II. ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
III. Omisisse Lucam testatur Origenes expressis verbis.	III. γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου [ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς]·
IV. Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν·	IV. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν·
V. καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·	V. καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·
VI. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·	VI. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν·
VII. Omisisse Lucam septimam precem testatur Origenes expressis verbis.	VII. ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

SECUNDUM LUCAM.

Secundum lectionem Patrum catholicorum, quam memorat Gregor. Nyssen.	Secundum Tertullianum adv. Marcionem, IV. 26.[1]
	Pater.
	I. Veniat Spiritus Sanctus tuus super nos et purificet nos.
II. *ἐλθέτω τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς.*	II. Adveniat regnum tuum.
	IV. Da nobis panem quotidianum.
	V. Dimitte nobis delicta nostra.
	VI. Et ne sinas nos deduci in tentationem.

[1] Verba ipsa non certa, cum Tertullian uscircumscribat sensum, non adducat ipsa orationis dominicæ verba.

II.

PSALMI.

PSALMUS ZACHARIÆ.

Luc. i. 68—79.

Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,
ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο καὶ ἐποίησε λύτρωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ·
καὶ ἤγειρε κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν
ἐν οἴκῳ Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ·
καθὼς ἐλάλησε διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων,
τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν αὐτοῦ·
σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν
καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς·
ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν
καὶ μνησθῆναι διαθήκης ἁγίας αὐτοῦ·
ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσε
πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν·
τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν [ἡμῶν] ῥυσθέντας
λατρεύειν αὐτῷ ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ
πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν.

Καὶ σὺ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ,
προπορεύσῃ γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου ἑτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ·
τοῦ δοῦναι γνῶσιν σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ
ἐν ἀφέσει ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν·
διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν,
ἐν οἷς ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους·
ἐπιφᾶναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένοις,
τοῦ κατευθῦναι τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης.

PSALMUS MARIÆ.

Luc. i. 46—55.

Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον
καὶ ἠγαλλίασε τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρί μου·
ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ.
ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν μακαριοῦσί με πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαί,
ὅτι ἐποίησέ μοι μεγάλα ὁ δυνατὸς
καὶ ἅγιον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν
τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν.
Ἐποίησε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ
διεσκόρπισεν ὑπερηφάνους διανοίᾳ καρδίας αὐτῶν.
καθεῖλε δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων
καὶ ὕψωσε ταπεινούς.
πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν ἀγαθῶν
καὶ πλουτοῦντας ἐξαπέστειλε κενούς·
ἀντελάβετο Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ,
μνησθῆναι ἐλέους,
καθὼς ἐλάλησε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν,
τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

PSALMUS SIMEONIS.

Luc. ii. 29—32.

Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα,
κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ,
ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου,
ὃ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν
φῶς εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν ἐθνῶν
καὶ δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραήλ.

APPENDIX.

PSALMUS QUI DICITUR AMBROSIANUS

AD MODUM HEBRAICUM COMPOSITUS.

Te deum laudamus,
te dominum confitemur,
Te æternum patrem
omnis terra veneratur.
Tibi omnes angeli, tibi cœli et universæ potestates
tibi Seraphim et Cherubim incessabili voce proclamant:
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth —
pleni sunt cœli et terra majestatis gloriæ tuæ.
Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,
te prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus,
te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia,
Patrem immensæ majestatis
venerandum tuum verum et unicum filium,
sanctum quoque paraclitum spiritum.
Tu rex gloriæ, Christe,
tu patris sempiternus es filius:
Tu liberandum suscepturus hominem
non horruisti virginis uterum:
Tu devicto nostris aculeo
aperuisti credentibus regna cœlorum.
Tu ad dexteram sedes in gloria dei patris,
judex crederis esse venturus.
Te ergo quæsumus: tuis famulis subveni, quos pretioso sanguine redemisti,
æterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari.

Salvum fac populum tuum, domine,
et benedic hæreditati tuæ,
Et rege eos et extolle eos
usque in æternum.

Per singulos dies benedicimus te,
et laudamus nomen tuum in sæculum et in sæculum sæculi.
Dignare, domine, die isto sine peccato nos custodire,
miserere nostri, domine, miserere nostri.
Fiat misericordia tua super nos,
quemadmodum speravimus in te.
In te, domine, speravi,
non confundar in æternum.

III.

HYMNI.

HYMNUS MATUTINUS.

Codex Alexandrinus.	Libri rituales Ecclesiæ Occidentalis St. Hilar.
Ὕμνος ἑωθινός·	
Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ	Gloria in excelsis deo:
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη	et in terra pax
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία·	hominibus bonæ voluntatis:
Αἰνοῦμέν σε[1]	Laudamus te,
εὐλογοῦμέν σε[2]	benedicimus te,
προσκυνοῦμέν σε	adoramus te, *glorificamus te*
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι[3]	gratias agimus tibi
διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν.	propter magnam gloriam tuam.
κύριε βασιλεῦ	Domine deus,
ἐπουράνιε	*rex* cœlestis
θεὸς πάτερ παντοκράτωρ[4]	deus pater omnipotens
[κύριε υἱὲ μονογενῆ	domine fili unigenite
Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ	Jesu Christe
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα][5]	. . . . .

[1] ὑμνοῦμέν σε add. Const.

[2] δοξολογοῦμέν σε add. Const.

[3] Const. pro εὐχ. σοι substituunt διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως σε τὸν ὄντα θεὸν γέννητον ἕνα ἀπρόσιτον μόνον.

[4] θεὲ πάτερ παντόκρατορ Const.

[5] Lineas tres inde a κύριε omittunt Const.

κύριε ὁ θεὸς	Domine deus,
ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ[1]	agnus dei.
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς	filius patris,
ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου	qui tollis peccata mundi
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς	miserere nobis
ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου	qui tollis peccata mundi
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς[2]	. . . . .
προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν	suscipe deprecationem nostram
ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς[3]	qui sedes ad dexteram patris
. . . . .	miserere nobis.
ὅτι σὺ εἶ[4] *μόνος ἅγιος*	Quoniam tu solus sanctus
σὺ εἶ[5] *μόνος κύριος*	tu solus dominus
. . . . .	tu solus altissimus
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς	Jesu Christe
. . . . .	cum sancto spiritu
εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός.	In gloria dei patris.
Ἀμήν.	Amen.

IDEM RESTITUTUS.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.
Αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε·
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν.
Κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, θεὸς πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ·
κύριε ὁ θεός·
Κύριε υἱὲ μονογενῆ·
Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·
Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ·
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πάτρός·

[1] Pro ὁ ἀ. τ. θεοῦ substituunt Const. *ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.*

[2] Versus quinque inde ab *υἱὸς* om. Const.

[3] pro *ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ π.* Const. *ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ.* [4] *εἶ* om. Const.

[5] Versus tres ultimi om. Const. qui substituunt *τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γεννητης φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.*

Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου·
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·
Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου·
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν·
Ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός·
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος·
σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος·
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός·
εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός. Ἀμήν.

HYMNUS MATUTINUS ALTER

e codice Alexandrino desumptus.

Καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε[1]
καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,
καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος·
Καταξίωσον, κύριε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς·
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν[2] καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

HYMNUS VESPERTINUS

e cod. Alex. desumptus.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου.[3]
Κύριε, καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ·[4]
Ἐγὼ εἶπα, κύριε, ἐλέησόν με·[5]
ἴασαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ὅτι ἥμαρτόν σοι.

[1] Psalm 145, 2. [2] Tobit. 8, 5. [3] Ps. 119, 12.
[4] Ps. 110, 1. [5] Ps. 41, 4.

Κύριε, πρός σε κατέφυγον.
Δίδαξόν με τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου·
ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεός μου.[1]
Ὅτι παρά σοι πηγὴ ζωῆς·
ἐν φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς.[2]
Παράτεινον τὸ ἔλεός σου τοῖς γινώσκουσί σε.

HYMNUS VESPERTINUS ALTER

e constitt. apost. excerptus (vii. 18).

Αἰνεῖτε παῖδες κύριον·
αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.
Αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν,
Κύριε βασιλεῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ·
τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ, ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου.

Σοὶ πρέπει αἶνος,
σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος·
Σοὶ δόξα πρέπει τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί,
διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐν πνεύματι τῷ παναγίῳ· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ὕμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ.

Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης
ἀθανάτου πατρὸς, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ·
ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν,
ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν,
ὑμνοῦμεν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ·
ἄξιος εἶ ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς
ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ὁσίαις,
υἱὲ θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς·
διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.

[1] Ps. 143, 9. 10. [2] Ps. 136, 9.

IV.

FORMULA BAPTISMI.

Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

Πορευθέντες [1] μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν.

[1] πορεύεσθε Cantabrig. Origenes semel et semper Cyprianus.

V.

SYMBOLA.

A.

SYMBOLUM ECCLESIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ.

Constitutiones copticæ ed. H. Tattam, Londini 1848. § 46.

1. Forma qualis videtur fuisse tempore antiquissimo.

Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν τὸν πατέρα τὸν παντοκράτορα·

Καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,
τὸν κύριον καὶ σωτῆρα ἡμῶν·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ ζωοποιοῦν.

2. Forma interpolata.

Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν τὸν πατέρα τὸν παντοκράτορα·

Καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,
τὸν κύριον καὶ σωτῆρα ἡμῶν·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ ζωοποιοῦν,
[μίαν κυριότητα, μίαν βασιλείαν, μίαν πίστιν,
ἓν βάπτισμα ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.] [1]

[1] *Nota.* Ante ea quæ uncis inclusimus seriori tempore inserta sunt verba τὴν ὁμοούσιον τριάδα. cæterum cave Tattamum sequare, qui vertit pag. 58: "I believe in ..... one faith, one baptism, and in the holy ..... church." Nam 'credo in' coptice est tinahti e, non vero tinahti khen: at legitur loco laudato:

tinahti e ph nouti ....
eu ôms ⁿn ouôt khen t katholikê ... ⁿn ekklêsia ...
eu (= e ou) ônkh sha eneh.

B.

SYMBOLUM ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ.

Græce: laudatum a Marcello Ancyrano in epistola ad Julium Romanum data A.D. 337, apud Epiphanium hæres. 72 pag. 356 Basil. p. 836 Petav.

Ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μέλλων Ῥώμης ἐξιέναι ἔγγραφόν σοι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χειρὶ γράψας ἐπιδοῦναι ἣν ἔμαθον ἔκ τε τῶν θειῶν γραφῶν ἐδιδάχθην. . . . .

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα·

Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
τὸν ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα,
καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθήμενον
ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός,
ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα,
ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν,
ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Nota. Ambrosius epist. ad Siricium papam: symbolum apostolorum, quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat. Vigilius Tapsensis c. Eutych. iv. 1.: Romæ et antequam Nicæna synodus conveniret a temporibus Apostolorum usque ad nunc . . . . ita fidelibus symbolum traditur; nec præjudicantur verba, ubi sensus incolumis permanet.

C.

SYMBOLUM ORIENTALE.

V. Rufini expos. symb. apost. in Opp. Cypriani, ed. Fell Oxon. 1682. append. p. 18.

Orientis ecclesiæ fere omnes ita tradunt:

CREDO in unum deum patrem omnipotentem:

Et in unum dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, unicum filium ejus,

Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine,
crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in cœlos,
sedet ad dexteram patris,
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos:

Et in spiritum sanctum,
sanctam ecclesiam,
remissionem peccatorum,
carnis resurrectionem.

D.

SYMBOLUM ECCLESIÆ AQUILEJENSIS.

Rufin. l. c. pag. 17.

CREDO in deo patre omnipotente, *invisibili et impassibili*,[1]
Et in Christo Jesu, unico filio ejus, domino nostro,
Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine,
crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato
et sepultus *descendit in inferna*,[2]
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in cœlos
sedet ad dexteram patris:
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
Et in Spiritu Sancto,
sanctam ecclesiam,
remissionem peccatorum,
hujus[3] carnis resurrectionem.

[1] Rufinus, p. 19: Sciendum quod duo isti sermonis (invis. et impass.) in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habentur: constat autem, apud nos additos hæreseos causa Sabellii, illius profecto, quæ a nostris patripassiana appellatur i. e. quæ patrem ipsum vel ex virgine natum dicit et visibilem factum vel passum affirmat in carne.

[2] Rufinus, p. 21: Sciendum est quod in ecclesiæ Romanæ symbolo non habetur additamentum "descendit ad inferna" sed neque in orientis ecclesiis habetur hic sermo: vis tamen verbis eadem videtur esse in eo quod "sepultus" dicitur.

[3] Rufinus, p. 28.: Satis cauta et provida adjectione fidem symboli ecclesia nostra (Aquilejensis) docet, quæ in eo quod a ceteris traditur: carnis resurrectionem uno addito pronomine tradit: hujus carnis resurrectionem.

APPENDIX.

A. SYMBOLUM NICÆNUM.

A. D. 325.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν,

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

Καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

Additur formula anathematizans:

Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ὅτι ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ κτιστὸν, τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

EUSEBIUS epist. ad Cæsarcenses apud Athanasium de decretis synod. Nicænæ. tom. I. 1. pag. 239. Montfaucon.

B. SYMBOLUM CONSTANTINOPOLITANUM PRIMUM.

A. D. 360.

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων,

Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ παθόντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·

Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον[1], τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν,
εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·

ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,

προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.
Ἀμήν.

MANSI Act. Concill. tom. iii. p. 565.

[1] Add. *et filio* concilium Toletanum (sed non omnes codd.), Etherius et Beatus adv. Elipandum I.

C. LOCI CLASSICI PATRUM ANTIQUIORUM DE SYMBOLO APOSTOLICO TESTIMONIUM LATURI.

I.

IRENÆUS.

1. Irenæus adv. hæreses I. 2 pag. 45 ed. Grabe 1702.

Ἡ ἐκκλησία καίπερ καθ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς διεσπαρμένη, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστιν καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰ πάντα καὶ ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος, ἵνα Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι καὶ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἀοράτου πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσηται αὐτῷ καὶ κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσηται, τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας καὶ ἀγγέλους παραβεβηκότας καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γεγονότας καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνόμους καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ διαμεμενηκόσι τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ μετανοίας, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσηται καὶ δόξαν αἰωνίαν περιποιήσῃ.

2. Idem III. 4 pag. 205. 206.

Si neque apostoli scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias? cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum eorum qui in Christum credunt sine charta vel atramento scriptam habentes per spiritum in

cordibus suis salutem et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes in unum deum credentes fabricatorem cœli et terræ et omnium quæ in eis sunt per Christum Jesum dei filium, qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem eam quæ esset ex virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans deo et passus sub Pontio Pilato et resurgens et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus salvator eorum qui salvantur et judex eorum qui judicantur et mittens in ignem æternum tranfiguratores veritatis et contemptores patris sui et adventûs ejus.

II.

TERTULLIANUS.

1. Tertullianus de virginibus velandis 1.

Regula fides una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum deum omnipotentem mundi creatorem et filium ejus Jesum Christum, natum ex virgine Maria, crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis, receptum in cœlis, sedentem nunc ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos per carnis etiam resurrectionem.

2. Idem de præscriptionibus hæreticorum 13.

Regula est fidei qua creditur, unum omnino deum esse nec alium præter mundi conditorem, qui universa de nihilo produxerit per verbum suum primo omnium emissum; id verbum filium ejus, appellatum, in nomine dei varie visum patriarchis, in prophetis semper auditum, postremo delatum ex spiritu patris dei et virtute in virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus et ex ea natum egisse Jesum Christum, exinde prædicasse novam legem et novam promissionem regni cœlorum, virtutes fecisse, fixum cruci, tertia die resurrexisse, in cœlos ereptum sedere ad dextram patris, misisse vicariam vim spiritus sancti, qui credentes agat, venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitæ æternæ et promissorum cœlestium fructum et ad profanos judicandos igni perpetuo, facta utriusque partis resuscitatione cum carnis restitutione. Hæc regula a Christo . . . instituta nullas habet apud nos quæstiones nisi quas hæreses inferunt et quæ hæreticos faciant.

3. Idem adversus Praxeam, cap. 2. (Liber scriptus cum Montanista esset.)

Nos et semper et nunc magis ut instructiores per paracletum, deductorem scilicet omnis veritatis, unicum quidem deum credimus, sub hac tamen dispensatione, quam *οἰκονομίαν* dicimus, ut unici dei sit et filius, sermo ipsius, qui ex ipso processerit, per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil. Hunc emissum a patre in virginem et ex ea natum, hominem et deum, filium hominis et filium dei et cognominatum Jesum Christum; hunc passum, hunc mortuum et sepultum secundum scripturas et resuscitatum a patre et in cœlo resumptum sedere ad dexteram patris, venturum judicare vivos et mortuos; qui exinde miserit secundum promissionem suam a patre spiritum sanctum paracletum, sanctificatorem fidei eorum qui credunt in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum.

III.

ORIGENES.

Origenes de principiis præfat. 4 tom. xxi. pag. 18. ed. Lommatzsch.

Species eorum quæ per prædicationem apostolicam manifeste traduntur istæ sunt:

Primo, quod unus deus est, qui omnia creavit atque composuit quique, quum nihil esset, esse fecit universa, deus a prima creatura et conditione mundi, omnium justorum deus, Adam, Abel, Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, duodecim patriarcharum, Mosis et prophetarum: et quod hic deus in novissimis diebus, sicut per prophetas suos ante promiserat, misit dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, primo quidem vocaturum Israel, secundo vero etiam gentes post perfidiam populi Israel. Hic deus justus et bonus, pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, legem et prophetas et evangelia ipse dedit, qui et apostolorum deus est et veteris et novi testamenti. Tum deinde quia Jesus Christus ipse qui venit, ante omnem creaturam natus ex patre est. Qui quum in omnium conditione patri ministrasset: per ipsum enim omnia facta sunt: novissimis temporibus se ipsum exinaniens, homo factus incarnatus est, cum deus esset et homo factus mansit, quod erat, deus. Corpus

assumsit nostro corpori simile, eo solo differens, quod natum ex virgine et spiritu sancto est. Et quoniam hic Jesus Christus natus et passus est in veritate et non per phantasiam communem hanc mortem sustinuit, vere mortuus: vere enim a mortuis resurrexit et post resurrectionem conversatus cum discipulis suis, assumtus est. Tum deinde honore ac dignitate patri ac filio sociatum tradiderunt spiritum sanctum. In hoc non jam manifeste discernitur, utrum natus an innatus vel filius etiam dei ipse habendus sit nec ne: sed inquirenda jam ista pro viribus sunt de sacra scriptura et sagaci perquisitione investiganda. Sane quod iste spiritus unumquemque sanctorum vel prophetarum vel apostolorum inspiraverit et non alius spiritus in veteribus, alius vero in his, qui in adventu Christi inspirati sunt, fuerit, manifestissime in ecclesiis prædicatur.

IV.

CYPRIANUS.

1. Epist. 76 ad Magnum.

Quod si aliquis illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quam catholica ecclesia teneat, eodem symbolo quo et nos baptizare: eundem nosse deum patrem, eundem filium Christum, eundem spiritum sanctum, ac propter hoc usurpare eum potestatem baptizandi posse, quod videatur in interrogatione baptismi a nobis non discrepare, sciat quisquis hoc opponendum putat, primum non esse unam nobis et schismaticis symboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem. nam quum dicunt: credis remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam, mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant ecclesiam.

2. Idem ep. ad Numidas 70.

Ipsa interrogatio quæ fit in baptismo testis est veritatis. Nam dicimus: credis in vitam æternam et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam.

RELIQUIÆ LITURGICÆ:

SIVE,

LITURGIÆ EUCHARISTICÆ VETERIS ECCLESIÆ,

TAM ORIENTIS QUAM OCCIDENTIS

QUOTQUOT AD GENUINUM TEXTUM REVOCARI POTUERUNT,

SECUNDUM ECCLESIAS AC TEMPORA
DISPOSITÆ.

103647

CAPUT PRIMUM.

ECCLESIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ MONUMENTA.

A.

SECUNDI ET TERTII SECULI LITURGIÆ INTER SE COMPARATÆ.

I. LITURGIA APOSTOLICA in Æthiopum Constitutionibus Apostolicis adservata.

II. Eadem Liturgia, Divi MARCI nomine insignitâ, qua forma temporibus Origenis in usu fuit.

Prioris Liturgiæ textum exhibet Ludolfus in Commentario ad Historiam Æthiopicam, pp. 324—327. Inserta est in collectionem Statutorum Apostolicorum Alexandrinam eo loco ubi textus Copticus (Tattam, p. 32.) Præfationem tantum exhibet, sive principium celebrationis Eucharisticæ.

Alterum textum præbet Liturgia Divi Marci ex codice quodam antiquo, Romam e monasterio Basilianorum in Calabria adlato a Joanne a S. Andrea (Paris. 1583). Renaudotius eam primus edidit; cujus editionem Fabricius solita fide, neglectis tamen lacunarum notis, Assemanus junior ea qua erat Græcarum litterarum ignorantia repetiverunt. Quem textum hic exhibemus, omissis quantum fieri potuit iis quæ post Constantini ætatem superaddita fuerunt. Textum integrum Renaudotii, qui codicem se Romæ inspexisse et quædam correxisse dicit, sequenti capite dabimus, non tamen collata editione principe, quippe quæ in Musei Britannici bibliotheca non exstet.

Formulæ Liturgicæ Præfationem præcedentes, quæ ad Oblationem Populi et ad Osculum Pacis spectant, secundum Liturgiam Seculi Tertii.

Desunt in Liturgia Secundi Seculi.

QUÆ, dimissis catechumenis, inter oblationem fidelium verbis conceptis a diacono vel a sacerdote dicebantur hæc inveniuntur.

Diac. Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους. (Osculum pacis.)
Sac. Προσφέρειν κατὰ τρόπους στάθητε.*
Diac. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε.
Sac. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Diac. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφερόντων.

† [Oratio introitus.

"Ἁγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, κύριε, αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἁγίασον καὶ ἀξίωσον τῆς φοβερᾶς σου ἱεροσύνης· καὶ προσ-

* Ad hæc verba et quæ proxime sequuntur respicit Cyrill. Alex. in libro de Ador. in Spiritu et Veritate, Opp. tom. i. p. 454.: οὐκ αὐτοὶ (οἱ διακόνοι) προστάττουσι διακεκραγότες ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ποτὲ μὲν ὑμνολογεῖν ὅτι προσήκει λαοῖς, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ἑστᾶναι κατηρεμεῖν δὲ, πολλάκις καὶ διανιστᾶσιν εἰς προσευχάς;

† Dedimus, uncis inclusam, formulam orationis a sacerdote dum intrat in Sanctuarium in silentio dicendæ, ut lectoribus originem hujusmodi interpolationum ante oculos poneremus; quæ et in textu hujus Liturgiæ Syriaco deest, neque ejus ætatis indolem præbet cujus hic imaginem exhibere nobis proposuimus. Attamen tertii exeuntis vel quarti ineuntis eam esse inde apparet, quod doxologiæ quæ hic significatur verba nunc, paucis paginis interjectis, in calce orationis ad Christum directæ leguntur, id quod nimis est absurdum. At scilicet interposita deinceps fuerunt illa omnia inter hanc nostram orationem ejusque doxologiam, quam ideo huic loco restituimus. Integrum textum quarti quintive seculi leges in nostra Liturgiæ Alexandrinæ editione, qua Græcorum Catholicorum et Coptorum vel Abyssiniorum Jacobitarum ritum inter se comparamus.

ἄγαγε ἡμᾶς τῷ τιμίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ μετὰ πάσης συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς· καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ· πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν πονηρὰν ἐκδίωξον ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Ἁγίασον τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν λατρείαν μετὰ φόβου σου, ἐξιλασκόμενοί τὸ πρόσωπόν σου διὰ παντός. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ὁ ἁγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμπομεν· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.)]

LITURGIA ALEXANDRINÆ ECCLESIÆ APOSTOLICA,

EX

ÆTHIOPICIS A LUDOLFO LATINE EDITA.

EUCHARISTIA, SIVE LAUDES.

(*Præfatio.*)

Dominus vobiscum omnibus:
Totus cum spiritu tuo sit.
Sursum corda elevate:
Sunt apud Dominum Deum nostrum.
Gratias agamus Domino:
* Rectum et justum est. †

Deinde dicunt orationem eucharisticam, Episcopum præeuntem sequendo.

* Male Ludolfus: Rectus et justus est.

† In Copticis ita. Can. 31. (Tatt. p. 32.) verbis Græcis, leviter corruptis:

Εὐχαριστία.
Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν (l. ὑμῶν)·
(Λαός) Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας·
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.
Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τὸν Κύριον·
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

(Quæ sequuntur desunt in Copticis.)

LITURGIA, QUÆ DICITUR DIVI MARCI,

UT

ORIGENIS TEMPORIBUS LEGEBATUR.

(Præfatio.)

Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων·
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας·
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.
Εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ κυρίῳ·
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον, ὅσιόν τε καὶ πρέπον, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐπωφελὲς, ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα, κύριε, θεὲ, πάτερ παντόκρατορ, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σοὶ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι νύκτωρ τε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκαταπαύστῳ στόματι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις χείλεσι καὶ ἀσιωπήτῳ καρδίᾳ, σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσαν, πηγὰς, ποταμοὺς, λίμνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· σοὶ τῳ ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ᾧ καὶ ἐχαρίσω τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφήν· παραβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες, οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες, ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνεκαλέσω διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ προφητῶν, ἀνέπλασας, καὶ ἀνεκαίνισας διὰ τοῦ

Liturgia Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ Apostolica.

Gratias agimus tibi, Domine, per dilectum filium tuum Jesum Christum, quem in ultimis diebus misisti nobis Salvatorem et Redemptorem, nuncium consilii tui.* Iste Verbum quod ex te est, per quod omnia fecisti voluntate tua. Et misisti eum de cœlo in uterum virginis. Caro factus est, et gestatus fuit in ventre ejus: et filius tuus manifestatus fuit a Spiritu Sancto, ut impleret voluntatem tuam, et populum tibi efficeret expandendo manus suas: passus est ut patientes liberaret qui confidunt in te. Qui traditus est voluntate sua ad passionem: ut mortem dissolveret, vincula Satanæ rumperet, et conculcaret infirmum, et sanctos educeret, et resurrectionem patefaceret.

* i.e. ἄγγελον βουλῆς, Christum Verbum. Antiqua Alexandrinæ imprimis theologiæ formula; ut apud Clementem, Stromat. vi. p. 769. Pott Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν γενητῶν πάντων διδάσκαλος, ὁ σύμβουλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα προεγνωκότος. Et vii. p. 832. (Λόγου) τοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου συμβούλου γενομένου τοῦ πατρός.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

φρικτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ οὐρανίου μυστηρίου τούτου· πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ταύτην, ἣν προσφέρει σοὶ, κύριε, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν, ἀπὸ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας· ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματι ἁγίῳ σου, καὶ θυσία καὶ προσφορά.*

[Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθέ·

Μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντων τῶν λαῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου.

Τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι. Τὸν βασιλέα, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας, βουλὰς, δήμους, γειτονίας, εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους ἡμῶν ἐν πάσῃ εἰρήνῃ κατακόσμησον. Βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν· ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ κτῆσαι † ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἴδαμεν, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν· ζωοποίησον τὰς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ψυχὰς, καὶ μὴ κατισχύσει θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.

Τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.

Ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξάλευσον ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανάστησον. Τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι. Τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἢ ἐν μετάλλοις, ἢ δίκαις ἢ καταδίκαις, ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ ἢ φόροις κατεχομένως πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον· ὅτι σὺ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ λύων πεπεδημένους, ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατῤῥαγμένους, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν πεπτωκότων, ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων,

* Celeberrimus Malachiæ prophetæ locus, quem Irenæus aliique secundi tertiique seculi patres ad sacrificium laudis apud Christianos retulerunt.

† Edd. interpunctionem quam post ἡμῖν negligunt, post ἀγάπῃ male posuerunt. Κτῆσαι pro usitatiore σῶσον, ut Luc. xxi. 19.: ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν.

Liturgia Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ Apostolica.

Desunt.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

ὁ ἔκδικος τῶν καταπονουμένων· πάσῃ ψυχῇ χριστιανῇ θλιβομένῃ καὶ περιερχομένῃ δὸς ἔλεος, δὸς ἄνεσιν, δὸς ἀνάψυξιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν κύριε τὰς κατὰ ψυχὴν νόσους ἴασαι, τὰς σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας θεράπευσον, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων· ἐπίσκοπε πάσης σαρκὸς, ἐπίσκεψαι καὶ ἴασαι ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου σου.

Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, κατευόδωσον, εἴτε διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν, ἢ λιμνῶν, ἢ ὁδοιποριῶν, ἢ οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντας, πάντας πανταχοῦ ἀποκατάστησον εἰς λιμένα εὔδιον, εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον· σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοίπορος αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον· ἀπόδος τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν χαίρουσιν, ὑγιαίνοντας ὑγιαίνουσιν.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν, κύριε, τὴν παρεπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀχείμαστον μέχρι τέλους διαφύλαξον. Τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως καταπέμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεομένους τόπους. εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ καταβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσηται ἀνατέλλουσα. Ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν, εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον, πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς. Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον, σώους καὶ ἀκεραίους ἡμῖν διατήρησον· παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν. Εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου, διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν προσήλυτον, δι' ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε, καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ. Ὁ διδοὺς τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκὶ, πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

(Pro pie defunctis:)

Τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεκοιμημένων πατρῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνησθεὶς τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προπατέρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, ὁσίων, δικαίων, παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ τετελειωμένου* · καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιούμεθα.† Αὐτῶν

* Edd. τετελειομένων.

† Hic nomina ex diptychis lecta esse apparet.

Liturgia Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ Apostolica.

Desunt.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν καταξίωσον· ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα δώρησαι· καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.* Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς προσφορὰς τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας, τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον, κρυφῇ καὶ παῤῥησίᾳ, βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων. Καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὰς προσφορας προσενεγκάντων, ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ, Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνελίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας, καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λεπτὰ, προσδέξαι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια, καὶ ἀντίδος αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια.

Diaconus. Εἰς ἀνατολήν.

Sacerdos. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαί. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα, τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβὶμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ, ἃ δυσὶ μὲν πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα, καὶ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα, καὶ κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι, καὶ ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις, τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σου δόξῃ· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαὼθ·

Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.

Πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἁγιάζει †, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἁγι-

* Respicit manifesto ad hæc verba et ad ea quæ proxime præcedunt Origenes in Homil. XVI. in Jerem. c. 14. (Opp. iii. 217.): Πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς λέγομεν· Θεὲ παντόκρατορ, τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν (ἡμῖν) μετα τῶν προφητῶν δός· τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν (ἡμῖν) μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δός, ἵνα εὑρεθῶμεν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . . Τὸ γὰρ λέγειν· Δός μοι μερίδα μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν . . . . . Τὸ λέγειν· δός μοι μερίδα μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, κ.τ.λ. Quæ verba jam a Centuriatoribus Magdeburgensibus laudantur tamquam luculenta formularum liturgicarum in antiquitate Christiana testimonia: quod judicium confirmavit Binghamus XIII. 5, 6. Palmerus vero primus, nisi fallor, ea ad Alexandrinam liturgiam retulit.

† Edd. male ἁγιάζῃ.

(*Verba Institutionis.*)

Accipiens ergo panem gratias egit et dixit: Accipite, comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur. Et similiter calicem quoque et dixit: Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur, cum facitis hoc, in commemorationem mei id facietis.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

αζόντων δέξαι, δέσποτα κύριε, καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν, σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγόντων·

Populus. Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος.

Sacerdos. Πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τῆς παρά σου εὐλογίας. διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος.

Ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ παμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑφίστατο θάνατον σαρκὶ*, συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων† καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· Λάβετε, φάγετε.

Diaconus. Ἐκτείνατε.‡

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν§ κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν, καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου, μετέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

Diaconus. Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

* Locus corrupte ita legebatur: ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑψίστατον θάνατον, quod barbare et absque sensu dictum foret. Lacunam ante θάνατον indicat Renaudotius, de sententia desperans. Verbis Syri, "ante *mortem* quam propria sua voluntate suscepit *pro nobis omnibus*, accepit panem," comprobatur, legendum esse: τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑποστάτα θάνατον. Ὑποστῆναι Græce est ultro aliquid faciendum suscipere (sich einer Sache unterziehen), id quod Syrus bene expressit.

† Verba inter utrumque ἁγίων exciderunt in codice, si editionibus fides habenda est.

‡ i. e. ἐκτενῶς εὔξασθε. § Edd. inepte: ἡμῶν.

(*Invocatio cum Doxologia.*)

Recordantes igitur mortis ejus et resurrectionis ejus offerimus tibi hunc panem et calicem, gratias agentes tibi, quod nos reddidisti dignos, ut stemus coram te, et sacerdotio tibi fungamur. Supplicesque oramus te ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum super oblationes hujus ecclesiæ; pariterque largiaris omnibus qui sumunt de iis sanctitatem, ut repleantur Spiritu Sancto, et ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te celebrent et laudent in filio tuo Jesu Christo, in quo tibi laus et potentia in sancta ecclesia, et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ καὶ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω.

Τὸν θάνατον, δέσποτα κύριε παντόκρατορ ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες καὶ τὴν τριήμερον καὶ μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες*, [καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδραν] καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ φρικτὴν καὶ φοβερὰν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ† νεκροὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι (ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν).‡ Σοὶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου. Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ ἁγίου σου, ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπερυγράπτων κόλπων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα, τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ, ὡς παντοδύναμος θεός· καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα·

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·

Diaconus. Κατέλθετε οἱ διάκονοι.

Sacerdos. Ἵνα γένωνται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν, εἰς πίστιν, εἰς νῆψιν, εἰς ἴασιν, εἰς σωφροσύνην, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν, εἰς ἐπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς, σώματος καὶ πνεύ-

* Glossam margini adscriptam in textum irrepsisse crediderim: a textu Origeniano certe tam barbara dicendi ratio aliena est.

† Lacunam hic inepte indicat Renaudotius, cum sit post ἀποδοῦναι ponenda.

‡ Lacunam quam indicant edd. supplevi post ἀποδοῦναι ex verbis Matt. xvi. 27., collatis cum Eccles. xii. 14. Servavit textum Syrus.

Populus. Sicut erat, est, et erit in generationes generationum, et in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Episcopus.†

Iterum supplicamus παντοκράτορι Domino omnipotenti, Patri Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ut concedat nobis in benedictionem accipere hoc sanctum sacramentum, utque neminem ex nobis reum faciat, omnes dignos reddat, qui sumunt et accipiunt sanctum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi παντοκράτορος Domini Dei nostri.

Diaconus. Orate.

* Adduntur hæc: " *De oblatione Olei*" (pro chrismate conficiendo aliosve ad usus), " Qui oleum offert tempore Eucharistiæ, *ut et panem et vinum, gratias agit eodem modo.*"

(Notandum hic, offerentes ex populo gratias ipsos egisse in offerendo.)

" Quamvis autem iisdem verbis non fuerit usus, *pro facultate sua propria etiam aliis verbis gratias agat dicens:*

(Sc. post illa: *Oramus te ut mittas Sp. tuum Sanctum*)

" Sanctificans oleum hoc tribue (sc. Spiritum) illis qui accipiunt: sicut unxisti sacerdotes et prophetas, similiter et illos, et unumquemque qui gustat corrobora: *et sanctifica illos qui accipiunt illud.*"

Ubi male L. post *illis qui accipiunt* supplet [panem et vinum].

† Brevis exhortatio ad populum, qua consecrandi populi benedictio præparatur: si revera antiqua est, jam ante Origenis tempore omissam esse opinor censenda, quippe cujus vestigium in Græco Syrove, aut ipso Abyssiniorum textu nullum inveniatur. At equidem serius additam crediderim.

ματος, εἰς κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ παναγίου σου ὀνόματος, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ δοξασθῇ καὶ ὑμνηθῇ καὶ ἁγιασθῇ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ δεδοξασμένον σου ὄνομα σὺν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.*

Populus. *Ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων·*

Sacerdos. *Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.*

Diaconus. *Προσεύξασθε.*

Sacerdos. *Θεὲ φωτὸς, γέννητορ ζωῆς, ἀρχηγὲ χάριτος, ποιητὰ αἰώνων, θεμελιωτὰ γνώσεως, δωρητὰ† σοφίας, θησαυρὲ ἁγιοσύνης, διδάσκαλε εὐχῶν καθαρῶν, ψυχῆς εὐεργέτα, ὁ τοῖς ὀλιγοψύχοις εἴς σε πεποιθῶσι διδοὺς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακῦψαι· ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀβύσσου εἰς φῶς, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐκ θανάτου ζωὴν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν ἐκ δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν, ὁ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν σκότος τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ λύσας· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα, κύριε, διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἀκατακρίτως τοῦ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ταύτης τροφῆς· καὶ ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς ὁλοτελῶς ψυχῇ, σώματι καὶ πνεύματι, ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων εἴπωμέν σοι τὴν προσευχὴν ταύτην, τό·*

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, κύριε, μετὰ παῤῥησίας, ἀκατακρίτως, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ πεφωτισμένῃ, ἐν ἀνεπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, ἡγιασμένοις χείλεσιν, τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε, τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον θεὸν πατέρα καὶ λέγειν·

Populus. *Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*‡

* Delevi *σου* ante *καὶ*.

† Vox *δωρητής*, donator, apud Lexicographos *ἁμαρτύρως*.

‡ Sc. usque ad verba: Et ne nos inducas in temptationem.

(*Consecratio Communicantium, præeunte Sacerdote.*)

Domine omnipotens, dum accipimus hoc sanctum mysterium, robur nobis tribue, neque quemquam ex nobis reum age, sed omnibus benedic in Christo, in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto laus et potentia, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

(*Obsignatio vel Benedictio Populi prostrati et sese devoventis.*)

Diaconus. Vos qui statis demittite capita vestra.

Domine æterne, gnarus occultorum: declinaverunt tibi capita sua populus tuus, et tibi subjecerunt duritiem cordis et carnis. Respice de parata habitatione tua, et benedic illos et illas. Inclina illis aures tuas et exaudi preces eorum. Corrobora eos virtute dextræ tuæ et protege eos a passione mala. Custos eorum esto tam corporis quam animæ. Auge et illis et nobis fidem et timorem. Per unicum filium tuum, in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto, sit laus et potentia in perpetuum, et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

Sacerdos. Ναὶ *κύριε, κύριε, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Οἶδεν γὰρ ἡ πολλή σου εὐσπλαγχνία, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ὑπενεγκεῖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν· ἀλλὰ ποίησον σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν. Σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ. Ὅτι σού ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις.* *

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη *πᾶσιν.*

Diaconus Τὰς *κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν* [τῷ Ἰησοῦ]† *κλίνατε·*

Populus. Σοὶ *κύριε.*

Sacerdos. Δέσποτα *κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ, καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφίμ· ὁ ἐξ ὑδάτων οὐρανὸν σκευάσας, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων χοροῖς κατακοσμήσας, ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις ἀσωμάτους ἀγγέλων συστησάμενος στρατιὰς πρὸς ἀεννάους δοξολογίας· σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν τὸν αὐχένα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα σημαίνοντες, καὶ δεόμεθά σου, τὰς σκοτοειδεῖς τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐφόδους ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας ἀπέλασον, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου σου θεοείδεσιν αὐγαῖς τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καταφαίδρυνον, ὅπως τῇ γνώσει σου πληθυνόμενοι, ἀξίως μετάσχοιμεν τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συγχωρῶν ἡμῖν πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτιῶν, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστόν σου ἀγαθότητα· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι.*

Εἰρήνη *πᾶσιν.*

Diaconus. Μετὰ *φόβου* Θεοῦ (sc. *δεηθῶμεν*, vel simile quid).

* Et quæ sequuntur in formula doxologiæ omnibus notæ.

† Uncis inclusimus verba manifesto spuria: nam quæ præcedit oratio directa est ad Patrem, itidemque ea quæ proxime sequitur. Interpolatio facta quando oratio quæ huic succedit, Ἅγιε ὕψιστε, etc. inserta fuit: de qua vide suo loco.

Diaconus. Respiciamus! *

Episcopus. Sancta sanctis.†

Populus. Unus pater sanctus:
Unus filius sanctus:
Unus est spiritus sanctus.

(*Communio.*)

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.
Et cum spiritu tuo.

" Deinde attollunt hymnum laudis.‡

" Et intrat populus, remedium animæ suæ quo peccatum remittitur accipiens."

* i. e. ad orientem, ut alias. Vel interpretandum, Suspiciamus.

† Ludolf male, sanctuarium. Est solennis illa formula: ἅγια ἁγίοις. Ludolf post " Sanctis " lacunam indicat, at nil desideratur, quod ad sententiam attinet.

‡ Vel hymnus: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, Σὲ αἰνοῦμεν, vel Psalmus laudis (ut 34. 42. 150.) hic innuitur.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

* [Sacerdos. Ἅγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος. Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας, δέσποτα, ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι, κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε Θεοῦ Λόγε, τῷ πάτρι καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε, καὶ σύναρχε, πρόσδεξο τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ καὶ πᾶρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, ἐξ ἀναξίων μου χειλέων βοῶντα καὶ λέγοντα·]

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos. Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Populus. Εἷς πατὴρ ἅγιος, εἷς υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰς ἑνότητα πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλήψεων (sc. δεηθῶμεν). (Populus in silentio precatur.)

† Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων.

(Populus.) Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς (ὑψίστοις). (Ps. cxlviii.)

(Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ συνδιακονήσει διὰ τῆς μεγάλης (supple αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας, vel similem clausulam solemnem).

* Dedimus hanc secretam sacerdotis precem uncis inclusam, ut quod inter tempus Origenianum et quartum quintum sextumve seculum intercedit discrimen lectoribus ante oculos poneremus, originemque monstraremus interpolationis. Diaconus populo orationem secretam indicat quæ præcedit preces communes, sive Litaniam, tamquam piam ad sacratissimum Communionis hymnum præparationem. Dum populus in silentio orat, sacerdos precem ad "Dei Verbum" dirigit, cujus extrema verba ad Litaniam dicendam invitant. Hujusmodi formulæ semper ut post-Origeniana eliminanda sunt: teste etiam ipso sermone Græco.

† Qui jam sequitur mysticus sacerdotis populique dialogus pulcherrimum est liturgicæ actionis communis exemplum.

(*Postcommunio.*)

Dominè παντοκράτωρ, Pater domini et salvatoris nostri J. C., gratias agimus tibi quod concessisti nobis ut acciperemus de sancto tuo mysterio ne sit nobis in reatum neque in damnationem, sed ad renovationem animæ, corporis, et animi. Per unicum filium tuum, in quo, etc.

(*Benedictio, "Impositio Manuum postquam acceperunt."*)

Dominus sit vobiscum omnibus.

Domine æterne qui omnia regis: Pater domini et salvatoris nostri J. C.: benedic servis tuis et ancillis tuis. Protege, et adjuva, et sospita eos virtute angelorum suorum. Custodi et corrobora eos in timore tuo per majestatem tuam. Exorna eos, ut quæ tua sunt cogitent: et largire eis ut quæ tua sunt credant, et ut quæ tua sunt velint: concordiam sine peccato et ira gratificare illis: per unicum filium tuum, in quo, etc.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

Sacerdos. Κελεύετε.

Clerus. Τὸ *πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κελεύει καὶ ἁγιάζει.*

Sacerdos. Ἰδοὺ *ἡγιάσται καὶ τετελείωται.*

Clerus. Εἷς *πατὴρ ἅγιος* (ter dicendum).

Sacerdos. Ὁ *κύριος μετὰ πάντων.*

Clerus. Καὶ *μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.*

Sacerdos. Αὐτὸς *εὐλόγησον αὐτόν.*

Ὃν *τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς.* (Ps. xlii.)

Dum cantatur Ps. xlii. *incipit Communio.*

(Sacerdos porrigens panem et vinum dicit:)

Σῶμα *ἅγιον.*

Αἷμα *τίμιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.*

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ *προσευχὴν στάθητε.*

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη *πᾶσιν.*

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.

Sacerdos. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν *σοι, δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων, ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν· καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, κύριε, χάρισαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν θεοσεβείας, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.**

* Opportunus hic locus esse videtur quo afferamus luculentum Dionysii Episcopi Alexandrini testimonium de doxologiæ formula eucharistica, qua suo tempore (i. e. circa an. 265) ecclesiam Alexandrinam, tamquam a

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Abite in pace.
"Et post hæc absoluta est Eucharistia."

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

Diaconus. Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

* Populus. Ἐν ὀνομάτι κυρίου.

Sacerdos. Ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, ἡ χάρις τοῦ υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν. Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

Sacerdos. Ἔδωκας ἡμῖν δέσποτα τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐν τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, καὶ φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ἀμώμους ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ὁδήγησον εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ υἱοθεσίαν. καὶ εἰς τὰς μελλούσας αἰωνίους ἀπολαύσεις. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Εὐλογείτω ὁ Θεὸς ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ἁγιάζων καὶ σκέπων καὶ διατηρῶν πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς μεθέξεως τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

" presbyteris " accepta (Routh, Reliq. Sacræ, vol. iii.; Bingham, xiii. 5, 6.), usam fuisse dicit.

" Τούτοις, φασὶ, πᾶσιν ἀκολούθως καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ δὴ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρειληφότες, ὁμοφώνως αὐτοῖς προσευχαριστοῦντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλοντες, καταπαύσομεν· τῷ δὲ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν."

* Quæ sequuntur, si revera ad antiquiorem hanc liturgiæ formam medii seculi tertii pertinent, nil nisi alia forma benedictionis et dimissionis populi fuisse videntur. Nullo modo certe huc pertinet illa, quæ dimissionis verba " Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ " in textu Græco proxime excipit, oratio sacerdotis ad Christum directa : Ἄναξ μέγιστε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνάναρχε, etc. Quæ neque in textibus parallelis invenitur, et disciplinæ illa ætate in celebrando altaris sacramento vigenti contraria est.

B.

LITURGIA SECULI QUARTI EX TEXTU RECEPTO QUANTUM FIERI POTUIT RESTITUTA.

Exhibetur Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ Liturgia, quæ Divi Marci appellatur, integra, uti exstat in Codice Calabro. Quæ post Athanasii et Cyrilli tempora quinto sextove sæculo videntur addita esse, ea literis minusculis a genuina quarti seculi Liturgia distinguuntur. Textus Græcus, inde a Præfatione, cum S. Cyrilli Liturgia, qua Copti utuntur, et cum Canone universali Abyssiniorum comparatur. Utriusque Liturgiæ interpretationem Latinam dedit Renaudotius (tom. i. p. 38. et p. 499.), quem secuti sumus.

Η ΘΕΙΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελίστου Μάρκου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.
Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos sic orat:

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπερευχαριστοῦμεν κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐσκέπασας, ἐβοήθησας, ἀντελάβου καὶ παρήγαγες ἡμᾶς τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἤγαγες ἡμᾶς ἕως τῆς ὥρας ταύτης, ἀξιώσας πάλιν παραστῆναι ἐνώπιόν σου ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ σου, ἄφεσιν αἰτοῦντας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἱλασμὸν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σοῦ. Καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελέσαι ἀναμαρτήτως, μετὰ πάσης χάριτος, ὑγιείας, σωτηρίας, καὶ παντὸς ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σοῦ φόβου. Πάντα δὲ φθόνον, πάντα φόβον, πάντα πειρασμὸν, πᾶσαν σατανικὴν ἐνέργειαν, πᾶσαν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλίαν ἐκδίωξον ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ἡμῖν ἐπιχορήγησον· εἴ τί σοι ἡμάρτομεν ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἔργῳ, ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν, σὺ ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος παριδεῖν καταξίωσον, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σοὶ, μηδὲ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.
Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως.
Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos autem orat:

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ

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καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφύλαξον. Καθυπόταξον αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον· ἐπιλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυρεοῦ, καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ. Δὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς νίκας, εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον· ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαληνότητι τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ ἥρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πάπα καὶ ἐπισκόπου.

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos.

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν Πάπα Δ', καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον συντηρῶν συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς εἰρηνικῶς ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ὑπό σου ἐμπεπιστευμένου ἁγίαν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, σὺν πᾶσιν ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, ὑποδιακόνοις, ἀναγνώσταις, ψάλταις τε καὶ λαϊκοῖς, σὺν πάντι τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰρήνην καὶ ὑγιείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος. Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς αὐτῶν, ἃς ποιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, πρόσδεξαι, κύριε, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ λογικόν σου θυσιαστήριον. Πάντα δὲ ἐχθρὸν τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ ἐκκλησίας καθυπόταξον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σταθῆτε.

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησόν (ter).

Sacerdos subjungit orationes introitus et ad incensum :

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὸν δωδεκάφωτον λαμπάδα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκλεξάμενος καὶ ἐξαποστείλας αὐτοὺς, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ κηρύξαι καὶ διδάξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ θεραπεύειν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ἐμφυσήσας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ παράκλητον· ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς, ἄν τινων κρατῆτε,

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κεκράτηνται· οὕτως καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς περιεστηκότας δούλους σου, ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῆς ἱερουργίας, τὰς,* τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, ἀναγνωσταῖς, ψάλταις τε καὶ λαϊκοῖς σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγιᾶς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε ἀπὸ ἀρᾶς καὶ κατάρας καὶ ἀπὸ ἀναθεμάτων καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ ἀφορισμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς μερίδος τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰ χείλη καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ῥᾳδιουργίας· ἵνα ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ καθαρῷ συνειδότι προσφέρωμέν σοι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Ὀρθοί.

Et psallunt: Μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος. Fitque introitus Evangelii et dicit Diaconus, Ἐπὶ προσευχήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχήν.

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον (ter).

Sacerdos dicit orationem Trisagii:

Δέσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ συναΐδιος λόγος τοῦ ἀνάρχου πατρὸς, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος κατὰ πάντα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐξαποστείλας τοὺς ἁγίους σοῦ μαθητὰς καὶ ἀποστόλους κηρύξαι καὶ διδάξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα, ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου, καὶ κατεύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας εἰς κατανόησιν τῶν θείων σου λογίων· καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς ἀκροάτας αὐτῶν γενέσθαι· καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκροάτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὰς λόγου, γενόμενοι εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι, καὶ ποιῆσαι καρποὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἓν τριάκοντα καὶ ἓν ἑκατὸν †, ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. (elata voce) Καὶ ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοί σου κύριε. (elata voce) Σὺ γὰρ εἶ εὐαγγελισμὸς, σωτὴρ καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, κύριε ὁ θεὸς, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος.

* Nota lacunam: desideratur finis orationis introitus, et principium alterius.

† Libri male: ἀνὰ τριάκ. καὶ ἓν ἑκ. Desumta ex Marco, iv. 8.

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

Trisagio completo populum cruce signat sacerdos, dicens: Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Sequitur Πρόσχωμεν, h. e. Attenti simus. Apostolus: Prologus hymni Alleluja. Diaconi ex præscripto dicunt: Κύριε εὐλόγησον.

Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσῃ καὶ συνδιακονήσῃ ὑμῖν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Sacerdos, prius quam Evangelium recitetur, incensum offert, dicens: Θυμίαμα προσφέρομεν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου, ὁ Θεὸς, προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον. Ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, ὅτι εὐλογημένος ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σὺ τὴν δόξαν σου ἀνάπεμψον.

Diaconus Evangelium recitaturus dicit: Κύριε εὐλόγησον.

Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσῃ καὶ ἐνισχύσῃ καὶ ἀκροάτας ἡμᾶς ποιήσῃ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς Θεὸς, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Στάθητε, ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Deinde recitat Evangelium Diaconus. Mox Συνάπτης seu Collectæ orationem subjungit sacerdos his verbis: Τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι. Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς, ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν καιρόν. Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρῄζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους. Τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μετρὸν αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν σὴν χάριν. Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς αὔξησον εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν. Τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου, ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ γαληνότητι διαφύλαξον. Τὴν ταπεινὴν καὶ ἐλεεινὴν καὶ φιλόχριστον πόλιν ταύτην, ῥῦσαι αὐτὴν, ὁ Θεὸς, ἀφ' ἡμερῶν πονηρῶν, ἀπὸ λιμοῦ, λοιμοῦ, καὶ ἐπιστάσεως ἐθνῶν, ὡς καὶ Νινευὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐφείσω· ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων εἶ, καὶ ἀμνησίκακος ἐπὶ κακίαις ἀνθρώπων. Σὺ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἡσαΐου εἶπας, Ὑπερασπιῶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὴν δι' ἐμέ, καὶ διὰ Δαυὶδ τὸν παῖδά μου. Δι' ὃ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, ὑπεράσπισαι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, διὰ τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ εὐαγγελίστην Μάρκον, τὸν ὑποδείξαντα ἡμῖν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Diaconus. Ἄρξαι.

Deinde dicunt versum. Diaconus dicit: Τὰς τρεῖς! *

* Renaudotius (in adnotatione ad h. l. i. 356.) intelligendas esse credit tres orationes precatorias hic dicendas (id quod posteriori ætate fieri solebat)

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

Sacerdos hanc subjungit orationem (Collectam):

Δέσποτα κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε· τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι. Τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον ἡμῶν Πάπαν τὸν Δ', καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον συντηρῶν, συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς, εἰρηνικῶς, ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ὑπό σου ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν ἀρχιερωσύνην, κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας σὺν πᾶσιν ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, ὑποδιακόνοις, ἀναγνώσταις, ψάλταις, σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον· δὸς αὐτὰς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θέλημα. Οἴκους εὐχῶν, οἴκους εὐλογιῶν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς δούλοις σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δώρησαι.

Ἐξεργέθητι, κύριε, καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου· φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Τὸν δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον εὐλόγησον· ποίησον αὐτὸν εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας· καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.

Diaconus. Βλέπετε μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων.

Psallunt Cherubim mystice. Sacerdos incensum offert ad Εἴσοδον μεγάλην seu majorem introitum et sic orat:

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντων ἀπροσδεής, δέξαι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο, ἐξ ἀναξίου χειρὸς προσφερόμενον, καὶ τῆς παρά σου εὐλογίας πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀξίωσον. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

atque aliunde petendas, scilicet orationem veli, pro pace, et pro Patriarcha universaque ecclesia. At hæ a diacono neque dicebantur nec populo indicebantur. Græcorum litania hic significatur, cujus tres sunt partes: precatio in silentio peractâ, communis oratio, sacerdotis Collecta: quæ ex ordine a Diacono indicebantur. Sacerdotalis Collectæ verba exhibet textus.

LITURGIA DIVI MARCI BYZANTINORUM.

MISSA FIDELIUM.

(*Oratio Introitus.*)

(Εἰσέρχονται τὰ ἅγια εἰς τὸ Θυσιαστήριον.)

"Αγιε ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος κύριε, αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἁγίασον καὶ ἀξίωσον τῆς φοβερᾶς σοῦ ἱερωσύνης· καὶ προσάγαγε ἡμᾶς τῷ τιμίῳ σοῦ Θυσιαστηρίῳ μετὰ πάσης συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς· καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ· πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν πονηρὰν ἐκδίωξον ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Ἁγίασον τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν λατρείαν μετὰ φόβου σου, ἐξιλασκόμενοι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου διὰ παντός· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ὁ ἁγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμπομεν.†

Diac. Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους.

[Δέσποτα κύριε παντόκρατορ, οὐρανόθεν ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ποίμνιόν σου, καὶ σῶσον πάντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους δούλους σου, τὰ θρέμματα τῆς σῆς ἀγέλης, καὶ δώρησαι ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, ὅπως ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ ἀσπασώμεθα ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, μὴ ἐν ὑποκρίσει, μὴ τὴν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου ‡ κεκτημένοι προαίρεσιν, * * ἀλλὰ ἄμωμον καὶ ἄσπιλον ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι, ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ

† *Doxologia* quam hic desideras nunc adnexa legitur ad orationem abhinc secundam ad D. N. J. C. directam.

‡ i. e. sceleris, secundum usum τῶν ο'. Asterisci post προαιρ. lacunam indicant. Sententia ex textu Copto colligitur.

LITURGIA S. CYRILLI COPTORUM.

Deest. Ejus vice præbet *Orationem Sacerdotis secretam:*

Creator rerum omnium visibilium et invisibilium . . . deprecor te . . . ego imbellis, virtute carens et inutilis præ omnibus ministris tuis . . . dum accedo ad sancta sanctorum tua . . . da mihi, Domine, spiritum tuum sanctum, etc.

Duas proponit, ad seligendum, formulas Orationis pacis:

(*a.*) Auctor vitæ et rex cœlestis . . . fac nos dignos pace cœlesti . . . ut demus eam invicem in caritate perfecta et osculemur nos mutuo in osculo sancto, neque per cogitationes abominabiles despectui habeamus timorem tuum, aut mente dolosa et malitia proditoris.

(*b.*) Deus caritatis, largitor concordiæ . . . . tribue nobis

ÆTHIOPUM CANON UNIVERSALIS.

Deest.

(*Symbolum Nicænum et deinde Collectam exhibet.*)

Oratio pro Pace perfecta.

Qui communicatis amplectimini invicem in plenitudine cordis vestri: qui communicaturus est custodiat se a malo.

Præbet orationem osculi sancti, eamque valde consimilem duabus illis Coptorum junctis.

Deus magne et æterne . . . Domine per benignitatem tuam

τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ πίστει, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν, ὅπως καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀπέραντον στοργὴν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

(*Oratio Incensus.*)

(*Oblatio Populi.*)

Diaconus. Προσφέρειν κατὰ τρόπους στάθητε.

[Symbolum Nicænum a Sacerdote dum signat discos et calices.] *

(*Oratio Oblationis.*†)

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφερόντων.

Oratio Protheseos (*Propositionis* ‡).

Δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ σύναρχος Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς, ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς

* Symbolum tanquam pars officii divini a sacerdote pro se ipso peragendi insertum, populo tamen adstipulante: Nicænum scilicet.

† Antiquus *offerendi* mos; populus dona ad altare offert, orante sacerdote. Diaconus offerentes exhortatur ut decenter et reverenter accedant ad altare.

‡ *Ad Christum Summum Sacerdotem.* Ultima verba prorsus absurda sunt: oratio ad ipsum Christum est directa: at illa clausula Deum adloquitur per D. N. I. C.

Omnino totam hanc orationem crediderim multo post insertam esse, quum jamdudum oblatio populi fieri desivisset.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

. . . . animum immemorem malitiæ prioris, conscientiam puram et cogitationes sinceras . . . . . ut demus osculum spirituale. . . .

Utraque oratio auctorem diversum serioremque sapit ætatem.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

imple corda nostra pace tua et munda nos ab omni macula et immunditia, ab omni vindictæ studio, ab invidia et injuriarum recordatione letifera. Domine fac nos omnes dignos, ut amplectamur invicem in osculo sancto, ut percipiamus absque condemnatione donum tuum cœleste et immortale sicut decet gratiam tuam, qui cum Spiritu S.

Deest.

[*Populus.* Christe Deus noster fac nos dignos salutandi te osculo sancto et cœlesti, ut laudemus te cum Cherubim. (Sanctus, etc.*)

(*Deest.* Incipiunt preces precatoriæ pro ecclesia in terra et in cœlo: verbis suis, non translatis, at seriorem ætatem redolentibus: v. p. seq.)]

* Interpolatio mystica Æthiopum.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

καὶ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ φθορᾶς τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς· δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κύριε φιλάνθρωπε, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα, ἃ ἡ πανάγια τράπεζα ὑποδέχεται δι' ἀγγελικῆς λειτουργίας καὶ ἀρχαγγελικῆς χοροστασίας καὶ ἱερατικῆς ἱερουργίας, εἰς σὴν δόξαν καὶ ἀνακαινισμὸν τῶν ἡμετερῶν ψυχῶν. [Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.)]

Præfatio.

Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων·
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ.
Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας·
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.
Εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ·
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

* Ἀληθῶς γὰρ, ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον, ὅσιόν τε καὶ πρέπον, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐπωφελὲς, ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα, κύριε θεὲ, πάτερ παντόκρατορ, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σοὶ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι νύκτωρ τε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκαταπαύστῳ στόματι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις χειλεσι καὶ ἀσιωπήτῳ καρδίᾳ· σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσαν, πηγὰς, ποταμοὺς, λίμνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ᾧ καὶ ἐχαρίσω τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφήν· παραβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες, οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες, ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνακαλέσω διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ προφητῶν, ἀνέπλασας, καὶ ἀνεκαίνισας διὰ τοῦ φρικτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ οὐρανίου μυστηρίου τούτου. πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας, τοῦ

* *Laudes et gratiarum actio* pro creatione et redemtione, forma antiqua sed ornatiore. Alludit ad hymni matutini principium, et affinis est illis quæ in Constitt. App. leguntur formulis.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

"*Anaphora S. Cyrilli.*" *

Sac. Dominus vobiscum.

Pop. Et cum Spiritu tuo.

S. Sursum corda.

P. Habemus ad dominum.

S. Gratias agamus domino.

P. Dignum et justum est.

Dignum et justum est, quia tu vere dignus es: justum et sanctum.

Laudes et Gratiarum actio:

Conveniens et necessarium animabus, corporibus, spiritibusque nostris, æterne Domine, Domine deus, pater omnipotens, semper et in omni loco doni rationis tuæ, ut laudem te, psallam tibi, benedicam tibi, serviam tibi, adorem te, gratias agam tibi, celebrem te et confitear tibi die ac nocte, labiis indesinentibus, corde nunquam silenti et laude non interrupta. Tu creasti cœlos et quæ in cœlis sunt, terram et omnia

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Dominus vobiscum.

Sanctus in sanctis (ter).

Gratias agimus tibi Domine per dilectum filium tuum, quem misisti.... qui est verbum a te prodiens, in quo omnia fecisti per voluntatem tuam. †

* Titulus ipse hoc verum liturgiæ Alexandrinæ esse exordium arguit.

† Ad verbum expressa ex liturgia Apostolica. Quæ in illa antiquissima Æthiopum liturgia hanc sequuntur sententiam (p. 242.), ea nunc partem precum constituunt, quæ Verba Institutionis proxime præcedunt, ut p. 299. videbimus.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·* δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ταύτην, ἣν προσφέρει σοὶ, κύριε, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν· ἀπὸ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας· ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματι ἁγίῳ σου, καὶ θυσία καὶ προσφορά.†

(*Preces pro Ecclesia, vel Oratio: Memento Domine.*)

Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθέ·

(*Pro Ecclesia in orbe terrarum diffusa.*)

Μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντων τῶν λαῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου.

* Hæc omnia finem ævi ante-Nicæni redolent: sunt theologica, secundum Christologiam e doctrina *Verbi* evolutam, terminologia biblica potius quam ecclesiastica.

† Notandum est, deesse h. l. Hymnum Trisagion qui infra legitur insertus. Suscipiunt gratiarum actionem preces pro ecclesia, seculo secundo exeunte vel tertio ineunte insertæ.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

quæ in ea sunt, maria, flumina, fontes et paludes et quæcunque in eis sunt. Tu creasti hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam [ᾧ καὶ ἐχαρίσω — μυστηρίον τούτου om. Cyrilli lit.] et omnia creasti in sapientia tua, in lumine tuo vero, unigenito filio tuo, domino, deo, salvatore et rege nostro Jesu Christo; propter quod gratias agimus tibi et offerimus tibi eique simul et spiritui sancto, [trinitati sanctæ consubstantiali et indivisæ] hoc sacrificium rationabile et hoc ministerium incruentum, quod offerunt tibi omnes populi ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, a septemtrione ad austrum, quia nomen tuum, domine, magnum est in omnibus gentibus et in omni loco offerunt incensum nomini tuo sancto et sacrificium purum, simul cum hoc sacrificio et hac oblatione.

Preces pro Ecclesia.

[Domine miserere]. Rogamus et obsecramus bonitatem tuam, amator hominum, memento, domine [pacis], unius [unicæ] sanctæ, catholicæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ.

[*Diac.* Orate pro pace unius, sanctæ, catholicæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ, pro salute populorum et securitate cujuscunque loci et ut dimittantur nobis peccata nostra.]

Sac. Quæ est a finibus ad fines terræ, etc. ut in missa Basilii.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Desunt.

Pro S. Patriarcha nostro et Per Stephanum Protomartyrem, etc.

Memento etiam Eccl. Cath. et Apl. in pace, pretioso sanguine Christi tui ædificatam.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

(*Pro Pace Animæ et Mundi.*)

Τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι. Τὸν βασιλέα, τὰ στρατιωτικά, τοὺς ἄρχοντας, βουλὰς, δήμους, γειτονίας, εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους ἡμῶν, ἐν πάσῃ εἰρήνῃ κατακόσμησον.* Βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ· κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἴδαμεν· τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν· ζωοποίησον τὰς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ψυχὰς, καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ† θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.

(*Pro Ægrotantibus et Afflictis.*)

Τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.

Ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξάλευσον ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανάστησον. Τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι.‡ Τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἢ ἐν μετάλλοις, ἢ δίκαις, ἢ καταδίκαις, ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις, ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ, ἢ φόροις κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον· ὅτι σὺ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ λύων πεπεδημένους· ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατῤῥαγμένους, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν πεπτωκότων, ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων, ὁ ἔκδικος τῶν καταπονουμένων· πάσῃ ψυχῇ χριστιανῇ θλιβομένῃ καὶ περιερχομένῃ δὸς ἔλεος, δὸς ἄνεσιν, δὸς ἀνάψυξιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν κύριε τὰς κατὰ ψυχὴν νόσους ἴασαι, τὰς σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας θεράπευσον, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων· ἐπίσκοπε πάσης σαρκὸς, ἐπίσκεψαι καὶ ἴασαι ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου σου.

* Hæc omnia spectant ad tempora imperii ante Constantinum.

† Edd.: κατισχύσει.

‡ Tempora persecutionis seculi tertii hic respiciuntur. Φόροι alludere videntur ad tributa Christianis tamquam pœnæ causa (ut nunc Judæis Romæ commorantibus) imposita.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Desunt.	*Desunt.*
"Infirma populi tui sana."	
Desunt.	*Desunt.*

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

(*Pro Peregrinantibus et Navigantibus.*)

Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον, εἴτε διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ λιμνῶν ἢ ὁδοιπορίων ἢ οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντας, πάντας πανταχοῦ ἀποκατάστησον εἰς λιμένα εὔδιον, εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον· σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοίπορος αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον· ἀπόδος τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν χαίρουσιν, ὑγιαίνοντας ὑγιαίνουσιν.*

(*Pro Benedictione Terræ.*)

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν, κύριε, τὴν παρεπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀχείμαστον μέχρι τέλους διαφύλαξον. Τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρῄζοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεομένους τόπους. εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ καταβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσηται ἀνατέλλουσα. Ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν, εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον, πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς. Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς, κύριε, εὐλόγησον, σώους καὶ ἀκεραίους ἡμῖν διατήρησον· παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν. Εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου, διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν προσήλυτον, δι' ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἴς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ. Ὁ διδοὺς τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκὶ, πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

* Hæc ultima vere Alexandrina sunt atque e vita incolarum portus omnium apud veteres frequentatissimi desumta: item quæ mox sequuntur preces pro Nili incremento et pro inundatione abundante.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Patres fratresque nostros peregre profectos. . . . . Orate et pro illis qui designaverunt ad quemcunque locum proficisci, et cætera.	
Similia, at non eadem. *Add.* ut in Missa Basilii.	*Desunt.*

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

[(*Preces pro Imperatore Christiano.**) Βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριε τῶν κυριευόντων, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου καὶ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως, ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον ἐμφυλιόν τε καὶ ἀλλόφυλον.† ἐπιλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυραιοῦ, καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξεναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων αὐτόν. Ἐπισκίασον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου· κάθισον ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ‡ ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ παντὸς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαληνότητι αὐτοῦ ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.]

Pro pie defunctis.

Τῶν ἐν πίστει Χρίστου προκεκοιμημένων πατρῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνησθεὶς τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προπατέρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων§, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, ὁσίων, δικαίων, παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ τετελειωμένων·‖ καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιούμεθα†, [καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μάρκου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, τοῦ ὑποδείξαντος ἡμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας· Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετά σου, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶν, καὶ εὐλογήμενος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου, ὅτι ἔτεκες σωτῆρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. Ἐκφ.] Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, εὐλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας . . . (*Diaconus legit diptycha defunctorum.*) Καὶ τούτων πάντων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων σου σκηναῖς, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου χαριζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν σου ἀγαθὰ,

* *Insertæ post Constantinum*; veteres preces pro imperatore supra jam legimus.

† Deest verbum repellendi, ἀμύνω, e. g.

‡ Desunt quædam.

§ Laudantur ab Origene: v. supra.

‖ Lege τετελειωμένου: v. supra.

† Ex diptychis. In iis quæ sequuntur evidens est interpolatio. Omnia confusa et inconcinna. Verba χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη . . . . . ψυχῶν ἡμῶν inserta sunt in interpolationem quarti seculi.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

Domine, miserere Regis terræ famuli tui.

Alia, sed similia.

Domine miserere patribus fratribusque nostris qui obdormierunt, et quorum animas suscepisti quietem præsta. Memento etiam omnium sanctorum (ut in Græcis).

Ex omnium spirituum justorum qui in fide perfecti fuerunt. (Deest ii. l. mentio diptychorum, et Marci.*

Deest χαῖρε . . . . . ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

"Præcipue autem S. Genitricis," etc.

Addit: Et nos non digni sumus, qui pro beatis illis supplicemus . . . ipsi intercedunt loco nostro (post Augustini tempora inserta).

Addit: Memento archiepiscoporum nostrorum defunctorum, etc.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

(*Post precem pro defunctis:*)

Memento Domine regis nostri, Libna Dinghil.

Miserere, Domine, animarum servorum tuorum et ancillarum tuarum, qui . . . quietem acceperunt in fide tua . . . (Et sic omnia sensu eodem, verbis propriis: at tantum non prætermisso, si patriarcham et regem exceperis, Christianorum in terra degentium populo.

(*Aliis verbis.*)

* Marci mentionem in Liturgia a Marco, ut pie credit Andreas editor, conscripta, lectoribus absurdam videri posse ille quidem vidit: at non magis mirificum esse dicit quam Moysen suum ipsius decessum narrasse!

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασας ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον.]* Αὐτῶν μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν καταξίωσον· ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα δώρησαι· καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.†

Pro iis qui vel offerunt vel offerre aliquid desiderant.

Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς προσφορὰς τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας, τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον, κρυφᾶ καὶ παῤῥησίᾳ, βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὰς προσφορὰς προσενεγκάντων, ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, [hic thurificat Sacerdos] τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ, Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνελίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας, καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λεπτὰ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια, καὶ ἀντιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια.‡

* Usque huc interpolatio post Constantinum facta; qua remota, concinna omnino evadit sententia. Αὐτῶν μὲν refert ad illa verba: καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιούμεθα, quæ diptycha ibi legenda indicant.

† Laudantur ab Origene: v. supra.

‡ Continuatur liturgia vetus p. 152. verbis Diaconi, Εἰς ἀνατολήν.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

Pergit, post diptycha : Et illorum omniumque quorum nomina recitamus et quorum non recitamus . . . . qui dormierunt in fide, etc. Dignare ut requiescant in sinu Abrahæ, etc.

Sacrificium oblationesque in gratiarum actionem eorum qui offerunt laudem et gloriam nomini tuo. Suscipe ea super altare tuum spirituale, cœleste, cum odore thuris, ad majestatem tuam cœlestem, per ministerium angelorum tuorum sanctorum, sicut ad te suscepisti munera justi Abel et sacrificium patris nostri Abrahami et minuta duo viduæ. Ita quoque vota servorum tuorum accepta habe, sive multum sive parum sit, secreto aut manifeste ; et illis qui voluerunt offerre nec unde facere habuerunt : ut etiam illis qui hodie hæc tibi munera obtulerunt, da incorruptibilia pro corruptibilibus, cœlestia pro terrenis, æterna pro temporalibus : domos eorum et cellas panuarias reple bonis omnibus. Circumda eos, Domine, potestate angelorum et archangelorum tuorum sanctorum : et sicut memores fuerunt nominis tui super terram, memento illorum in regno tuo, et in hoc seculo ne derelinquas eos.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Desunt.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

[Τὸν* ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον Πάπαν Δ', ὃν προέγνως καὶ (ἠξιώσας †) προχειρίσασθαι τὴν ἁγίαν σου καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Δ' τὸν ἡμέτερον συντηρῶν, συντήρησον αὐτοὺς ἔπεσι πολλοῖς, χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς, ἐκτελοῦντας αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν σου ἀρχιερωσύνην, κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. Μνήσθητι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, μοναζόντων, ἀειπαρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν. Μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως, καὶ τῆς βασιλευούσης ‡, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει Χριστοῦ οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰρήνης καὶ ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν. Μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς θλιβομένης καὶ καταπονουμένης; ἐλέους θεοῦ καὶ βοηθείας ἐπιδεομένης; καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν πεπλανημένων. Μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς εἶναι, ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν αἰχμαλωτευσάντων αὐτούς.

'''

(*Pro cetero Populo et pro Sacerdote Preces offerente.*)

Μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀναξίων δούλων σου, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξάλειψον, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεός. Μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου ἐξάλειψον ὡς φιλανθρωπὸς θεός. Συμπάρεσο δὲ ἡμῖν λειτουργοῦσι τῷ παναγίῳ σου ὀνόματι. Τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς § ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον. Τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν τέλεον ἐκρίζωσον ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου. Τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ πονηρίαν σύντριψον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν. Τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου κύριε ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν ταπείνωσον. Γύμνωσον αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν· δείξον αὐτοῖς ἐν τάχει τὴν ἀσθενείαν αὐτῶν· τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ

* Incipit interpolatio seculi quarti vel quinti: Papa, civitas Imperialis, cetera jam supra memorata.

† Ita suppleo lacunam codicis.

‡ Romæ (Veteris vel Novæ), i. e. Romæ vel Constantinopolis.

§ Vox Alexandrina solennis, quæ jam in Ep. ad Hebr. occurrit pro συναγωγή.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

Orate pro vita et incolumitate patriarchæ et patris nostri venerabilis, archiepiscopi patris N. ut Christus deus noster conservet vitam ejus ad multos annos ac temporibus tranquillis. Patriarcham nostrum venerabilem Anba N. custodiendo conserva nobis ad multos annos et per tranquilla tempora, ut adimpleat perfecte officium sancti pontificatus, qui illi a te conlatus est, secundum voluntatem tuam sanctam et beatam, recte dispensans verbum veritatis et pascens populum tuum. . . . . Memento . . . episcoporum orthodoxorum in quocunque loco sunt, sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, lectorum, cantorum, exorcistarum, monachorum, virginum, viduarum, orphanorum, continentiam exercentium et laicorum.

Oratio pro urbe multo prolixior, verba *μνήσθητι κ. πάσης ψυχῆς — αὐτοὺς* desunt.

Memento, domine, tenuitatis meæ . . . . . et dele iniquitates *nostras*, o bone amator hominum deus. Esto socius nobiscum, ut ministremus nomini tuo sancto. Benedic congregationibus nostris. . . . . Cultum idolorum prorsus ex mundo extermina. Satanam et omnes potestates ejus pessimas contere et deprime sub pedibus nostris velociter. . . . . Hostium ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ, domine, ut semper, ita etiam nunc destrue superbiam cordis; fac illis notam velociter imbecillitatem suam, reprime eorum invidiam, fraudes et machinationes et calumnias quibus nos impugnant easque redde omnes inutiles. . . . . Exsurge, deus, et dissipentur omnes inimici

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Desunt.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

τὰς πανουργίας, ἃς ποιοῦσιν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπράκτους ποίησον. Ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου, καὶ φυγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Τὸν * δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον, ἐπ' εὐλογίας χιλίας χιλιάδας καὶ μυρίας μυριάδας, ποιοῦντας τὸ θέλημά σου τὸ ἅγιον.

Diaconus. Οἱ καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε.†

Sacerdos. Λύτρωσαι δεσμίους, ἐξέλου τοὺς ἐν ἀνάγκαις, πεινῶντας χόρτασον, ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας παρακάλεσον, πεπλανημένους ἐπίστρεψον, ἐσκοτισμένους φωταγώγησον, πεπτωκότας ἔγειρον, σαλευομένους στήριξον, νενοσηκότας ἴασαι, παντὰς, ἀγαθὲ, εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας σύναψον, καὶ αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σοῦ ποίμνῃ· ἡμᾶς δὲ ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν, φρουρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ κατὰ πάντα γενόμενος.]‡

Diaconus. Εἰς ἀνατολήν.

Sacerdos. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος, ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἀγίων ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαί. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα, τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβὶμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ, ἃ δυσὶ μὲν πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα, καὶ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα, καὶ κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι, καὶ ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις, τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σου δόξῃ· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ· Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.

Πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἁγιάζει§, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε

* Lacuna codicis.

† Hæc et quæ præcedunt verba de myriadibus angelorum, laudantur ab Origene: v. supra.

‡ Desinit interpolatio quæ inceperat p. 150.

§ Edd. male: πάντας ἁγιάζῃ. Vide textum Coptarum.

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tui et fugiant a facie tua omnes qui oderunt nomen tuum sanctum et populus tuus in benedictionibus millies millenis et decies millies decies millenis faciat voluntatem tuam.

Qui sedetis surgite.

Solve captivos: Salva eos qui necessitatem patiuntur: esurientes satia, conforta pusillanimes, lapsos erige, stantes confirma, errantes converte, perduc eos omnes ad viam salutis tuæ, numera illos omnes cum populo tuo, libera nos a peccatis nostris: esto, domine, nobis custos et protector in omnibus.

Ad orientem adspicite.

Tu es deus excelsus super omnes principatus et potestates, dignitates et dominationes et super omne nomen quod nominari potest, non solum in hoc sæculo sed etiam in futuro: tu es coram quo assistunt mille milleni et decies millies, decies millies milleni angeli et archangeli sancti tibi ministrantes. Tibi assistunt coram duo animalia gloriosissima sex alis instructa, plena oculis, Seraphim et Cherubim: duabus alis tegunt facies suas, propter divinitatem tuam invisibilem nec mente comprehensibilem: duabus tegunt pedes suas et duabus volant.

Unusquisque eorum semper te sanctificat: sed et cum omnibus, qui te sanctificant, suscipe quoque sanctificationem nostram a

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Qui sedetis surgite.

Ad orientem aspicite.

Coram te stant mille millies angeli et archangeli sancti, veneranda animalia sex alas habentia, Seraphim et Cherubim, qui duabus faciem suam tegunt, duabus pedes suos duabusque volant a finibus usque ad fines mundi.

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cœli et terra sanctitate gloriæ ejus.

ἁγιαζόντων δέξαι δέσποτα κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν, σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγόντων·

Populus. Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος.

Sanctus, Sanctus, a populo cantatur.

[Sacerdos mysteria sancta signaculo crucis signat.]

Πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· πλήρωσόν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τὴν παρά σου εὐλογίας, διὰ τῆς ἐπι φοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος.

(*Verba Institutionis.*)

Ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ παμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑψίστατον* θάνατον, σαρκὶ συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, Θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· (Ἐκφ.) Λάβετε, φάγετε.

* De solœcismo ὑψίστατον vide quæ supra ad p. 115. diximus. Lacunam sic fere suppleo : εἰς θανατὸν σαρκὶ, συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχρ. κ.τ.λ.

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nobis, domine, ut cum illis te laudemus dicentes,

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,

Vere pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua sancta per filium tuum unigenitum dominum deum, salvatorem et regem nostrum omnium Jesum Christum. Imple hoc sacrificium tuum, domine, benedictione, quæ a te est per illapsum super illam spiritus tui sancti.

Post: "Spiritus tui Sancti" *addit:*

✠ Amen: et benedictione benedic.

✠ Amen: et benedictione purifica hæc dona tua veneranda proposita coram te, hunc panem et hunc calicem.

Quippe filius tuus "ea nocte qua tradidit se ipsum ut pateretur pro peccatis nostris, ante mortem quam propria sua voluntate suscepit pro nobis omnibus, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, immaculatas, puras, beatas et vivificantes, et suspexit in cœlum ad Te, Deum Patrem

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(Vid. supra mox post præfationem.)

Vere pleni sunt cœli et terra sanctitate gloriæ tuæ, per D. N. J. C. qui venit et *natus est ex Virgine, ut voluntatem tuam perficeret, populumque sanctum tibi constitueret. Extendit manus suas ad passionem, passus est ut passiones solveret eorum qui sperant in te: qui tradidit se ipsum voluntate propria ad patiendum, ut mortem destrueret et vincula Satanæ dissolveret, infirmum calcaret, testamentum tuum constitueret, et resurrectionem suam manifestaret. Ea ipsa nocte in qua traditus est, cepit panem in manus suas sanctas et immaculatas, aspexit in cœlum ad te patrem suum, gratias egit, benedixit, sanctificavit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: accipite, manducate ex eo vos omnes. Hic panis est corpus

* Continuatur hic antiquissimæ Liturgiæ apostolicæ, quæ apud Abyssinios conservatur, gratiarum actio sive eucharistia (p. 108.). Priorem partem serior Abyssiniorum Liturgia præbet (p. 139.). Notandum est, prima nostri textus verba simpliciorem et haud dubie antiquiorem formam Liturgiæ apostolicæ exhibere.

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Diaconus. Ἐκτείνατε.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos orans. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν, καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, [ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρός τε τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων,] εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου, μετέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· (Ἔκφ.) Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

Diaconus. Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε.

Sacerdos. Τούτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ καὶ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω.

(*Memores igitur.*)

Τὸν θάνατον, δέσποτα κύριε παντόκρατορ ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες, καὶ τὴν τριήμερον καὶ μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦντες*, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδραν, καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ φρικτὴν καὶ φοβερὰν

* Libri Græci: ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ τὴν — ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν. (V. supra.)

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suum, et omnium Dominum, et gratias egit, et benedixit illum et sanctificavit illum, et fregit illum et dedit illum suis discipulis sanctis et apostolis puris dicens: accipite manducate ex eo vos omnes: hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis frangitur et pro multis tradetur in remissionem peccatorum . . . .

Pop. Amen.

Similiter et calicem post cœnam miscuit vino et aqua [Verba in Græcis inserta: ἀναβλέψας . . . . ϑεὸν τῶν ὅλων, *desunt*] et gratias egit et benedixit eum et sanctificavit eum . . . . deditque eum suis præclaris sanctis discipulis et apostolis dicens: Accipite, bibite ex eo vos omnes: Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro vobis effunditur et pro multis dabitur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Quotiescunque enim manducabitis ex hoc pane et bibetis ex hoc calice, annunciate mortem meam et confitemini resurrectionem meam et memoriam mei agite, donec veniam.

Pop. Mortem tuam annunciamus Domine.

Sacerd. Nunc, Deus pater omnipotens, annunciamus mortem unigeniti filii tui . . . . J. C. et confitemur resurrectionem ejus sanctam, et adscensionem ejus sursum in cœlos, sessionemque ejus ad dextram tuam, o

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meum quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum. Amen. etc. etc.

Similiter calicem gratiarum actionis benedixit et sanctificavit et dixit illis.

Et quotiescunque id feceritis, memoriam mei facietis.

Nunc etiam, Domine, memoriam agentes mortis et resurrectionis tuæ offerimus tibi hunc panem et hunc calicem: gratias agentes tibi quod per ea dignos fecisti nos standi coram te

αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι*, σοὶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου. Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ ἁγίου σου, ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων, [† αὐτὸν τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν ἅγιον, τὸν κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις λαλῆσαν, τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, ἐνεργοῦν τε, αὐτεξουσίως οὐ διακονικῶς, ἐφ' οὓς βούλεται τὸν ἁγιασμὸν εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ σῇ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν, τὸ πολυμερὲς‡ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τὴν τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων πηγήν· τό σοι ὁμοούσιον· τὸ ἔκ σου ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ] ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ, ὡς παντοδύναμος θεός. Ἐκφ. Καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης,

* Evidentem lacunam ita suppleo ex Syro: (ἀποδοῦναι) ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν. Conflata hæc verba ex iis quæ leguntur in fine Ecclesiastiæ, et in Evangelio Matthæi xvi. 27.

† Athanasio posteriora hæc sunt, non antiqua.

‡ Ren. πλημμερὲς, quæ non est vox Græca.

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pater, et exspectamus adventum ejus secundum, quo venturus est ex cœlis, terribilem et gloria plenum in fine hujus sæculi, in quo veniet ad judicandum orbem in æquitate et dabit unicuique secundum opera sua sive bonum sive malum.

Tu es coram cujus gloria hæc sancta dona proponimus, ex illis quæ tua sunt, Pater sancte.

(*Adduntur diversæ preces*).

Et mitte deorsum ex excelso tuo sancto, et ex habitaculo tuo præparato et ex incircumscripto sinu tuo et ex solio regni gloriæ tuæ, Paracletum spiritum tuum sanctum, ... dominum, vivificantem, qui locutus est in lege, prophetis et apostolis, qui est ubique et omnia loca replet . . . . . qui libero, propria potestate operatur, secundum voluntatem tuam, puritatem in iis quos diligit et non sicut minister, qui est simplex in natura sua et in operatione sua multiplex, fons donorum divinorum, consubstantialis tibi, a te procedens, socius throni gloriæ tuæ cum filio tuo unigenito domino, deo, salvatore et rege omnium nostrum Jesu Christo, super nos servos tuos et super hæc veneranda dona proposita coram te, super hunc panem et super hunc calicem ut purificentur et transferantur . . . . . et hunc panem quidem faciat corpus Christi.

Pop. Amen.

Sac. Et hunc calicem faciat quoque sanguinem pretiosum testamenti novi . . . . ejusdem do-

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tibique sacerdotale ministerium exhibendi.

Rogamus te, Domine, et deprecamur te ut mittas

sanctum Spiritum, et virtutem super hunc panem et super hunc calicem, faciatque utrumque corpus et sanguinem Domini et salvatoris nostri J. C. in secula seculorum. Amen.

αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος, καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Diaconus. Κατέλθετε οἱ διάκονοι.

Sacerdos. Ἵνα γένωνται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν, εἰς πίστιν, εἰς νῆψιν, εἰς ἴασιν, εἰς σωφροσύνην, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν, εἰς ἐπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς, σώματος καὶ πνεύματος, εἰς κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ παναγίου σου ὀνόματος, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα σου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ δοξασθῇ καὶ ὑμνηθῇ καὶ ἁγιασθῇ τὸ παναγίον καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ δεδοξασμένον σου ὄνομα σὺν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

Populus. Ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν, (καὶ ἔσται εἰς γένεας γενεῶν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων).

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.

(*Consecratio Populi præcedens Orationi dominicæ.*)

Sacerdos secreto orat. Θεὲ φωτὸς, γέννητορ ζωῆς, ἀρχηγὲ χάριτος, ποιητὰ αἰώνων, θεμελιωτὰ γνώσεως, δωρατὰ σοφίας, θησαυρὲ ἁγιωσύνης, διδάσκαλε εὐχῶν καθαρῶν, ψυχῆς εὐέργετα, ὁ τοῖς ὀλιγοψύχοις εἴς σε πεπειθῶσι διδοὺς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακῦψαι· ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀβύσσου εἰς φῶς, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐκ θανάτου ζωὴν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν ἐκ δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν, ὁ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν σκότος τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ λύσας· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα, κύριε, διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἀκατακρίτως τοῦ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἐπου-

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

mini, dei, salvatoris et regis omnium nostrum Jesu Christi, ut sint nobis omnibus, qui ea percepturi sumus, utilia ad obtinendam fidem sine disputatione, caritatem absque hypocrisi, patientiam perfectam, spem firmam, fiduciam, protectionem, sanationem, gaudium et renovationem animæ, corporis et spiritus, ad gloriam nominis tui sancti, ad societatem beatam vitæ æternæ et incorruptibilis et ad remissionem peccatorum .... ut in hoc sicut et in omnibus rebus glorificetur, benedicatur et extollatur nomen tuum magnum, sanctum, venerandum, et benedictum cum Jesu Christo .... et spiritu sancto.

"Pax omnibus. Et cum Sp. tuo. Iterum gratias agamus Deo omnipotenti, etc.

"*Cetera petenda sunt ex Liturgia Basilii.*"

Oratio Consecrationis similis, at diversa.

Deus qui præelegisti nos ad dignitatem filiorum ... gratias agimus tibi quod nos feceris dignos, nos peccatores, standi coram te in hoc loco sancto, et perficiendi hoc mysterium sanctum et cœleste, ut quemadmodum fecisti nos dignos ista perficiendi, ita etiam digni perficiamur communione et perceptione illorum. Tu qui aperuisti oculos cœlorum, aperi oculos cordum nostrorum.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Da ut omnibus illa sumentibus fiant ad sanctificationem et plenitudinem Spiritus Sancti, et ad roborationem fidei, ...

ut te sanctificent: per D. N. J.

Diac. Toto corde deprecemur Dominum Deum nostrum ut benigne nobis concedat unionem bonam Sp. Sancti.

ρανίου ταύτης τροφῆς· καὶ ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς ὁλοτελῶς ψυχῇ, σώματι καὶ πνεύματι, ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων εἴπωμέν σοι τὴν προσευχὴν ταύτην, [τό· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς].

Ἐκφ. Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε κύριε μετὰ παῤῥησίας, ἀκατακρίτως, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ πεφωτισμένῃ, ἐν ἀπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, ἡγιασμένοις χείλεσιν, τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε, τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ λέγειν·

(*Oratio dominica absque doxologia.*)

Populus. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

(Libera nos.)

Sacerdos. Ναὶ κύριε, κύριε, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Οἶδεν γὰρ ἡ πολλή σου εὐσπλαγχνία, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ὑπενεγκεῖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν· ἀλλὰ ποίησον σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν. Σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

. . . Atque uti mundasti labia servi tui Isaiæ prophetæ, quando seraphim . . . . . ita . . . . dignare sanctificare animas nostras, corpora nostra, labia et corda nostra: et da nobis carbonem illum verum, qui est corpus sanctum et sanguis pretiosus Christi tui, non ad condemnationem aut ita ut incidamus in judicium*, neque ad confusionem aut ad fletum.

† Verum largire nobis spiritum sanctum tuum, ut cordibus puris et conscientiis nitidis facieque inconfusa, fide non ficta, caritate perfecta et spe firma audeamus cum fiducia orare, dicendo orationem sanctam:

Pater noster qui es, etc.

(*Oratio similis, at diversa.*)

Rogamus te, Deus Pater omnipotens, ne nos inducas in tentationem sed libera nos a malo: actiones diabolicas a nobis remove: insidias per consilia improborum hominum omnes inutiles effice. Protege nos semper dextera tua vivificante, tu qui es adjutor noster et auxiliator noster, per C. D. N. cui, etc.

Sequuntur formulæ tres orationis post P. N. super populum prostratum. (*Finis Liturgiæ Cyrilli Copt.*)

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Sacerd. Da nobis ut uniamur in Spiritu tuo Sancto, ut in te vivamus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Deest Oratio dominica et quæ eam sequitur oratio.

Libera nos.

* Solennis Græcarum liturgiarum formula: *οὐκ εἰς κατάκριμα ἢ εἰς κρῖμα.*

† Nulla hoc loco fit Orationis dominicæ mentio; id quod interpolatum esse textum quem nunc legimus Græcum probat.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

(*Doxologia Orationis dominicæ.*)

Ἐκφ. Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις.
Populus. Ἀμήν.

(Pax vobiscum.)

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Diaconus. Τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ κλίνατε.
Populus. Σοὶ κύριε.*

(*Oratio Consecrationis Populi prostrati.*)

Sacerdos. Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφίμ· ὁ ἐξ ὑδάτων οὐρανὸν σκευάσας, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων χοροῖς κατακοσμήσας, ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις ἀσωμάτους ἀγγέλων συστησάμενας στρατιὰς πρὸς ἀενάους δοξολογίας· σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν τὸν αὐχένα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα σημαίνοντες, καὶ δεόμεθά σου, τὰς σκοτοειδεῖς τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐφόδους ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας ἀπέλασον, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου σου θεοείδεσιν αὐγαῖς τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καταφαίδρηνον, ὅπως τῇ γνώσει σου πληθυνόμενοι, ἀξίως μετάσχοιμεν τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος· ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συγχωρῶν ἡμῖν πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτιῶν, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστόν σου ἀγαθότητα, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· Ἐκφ. Δι' οὗ, καὶ μεθ' οὗ, σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι (ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων.)
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

(*Oratio Consecrationis Populi secreta.*†)

Diaconus. Μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ.

* Ren. σὺ κ. et τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν.
† Secunda orationis pars ad Filium, tanquam Dei Verbum, directa. Tota

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(Desunt omnia hæc usque ad finem.)

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Panis fractio, pœnitentia, oratio quæ incipit Libera, et communio.

Benedictum sit nomen Domini, et benedictus sit qui venit in nomine Domini: et benedicatur nomen ejus. Fiat, fiat, fiat. Mitte gratiam Spiritus Sancti super nos.

Diac. Surgite ad orationem.

Oratio Fractionis (Sacerdotis).

Gratias humiliter ago tibi Domine Deus qui sedes super thronum Cherubim . . . . benedic servis et ancillis tuis eorumque filiis, et retribue unicuique qui veniet partem accepturus ex admirabili mensa tua cum conscientia pura, remissionem peccatorum quæ cum Sp. Sancto conjuncta est . . . per gratiam unigeniti filii tui, qui, etc.

Oratio Pœnitentiæ.

Domine . . Deus noster, tu es qui tollis peccata mundi; suscipe pœnitentiam servorum tuorum. . . Memento omnium qui obdormiverunt in fide Christi. . . . Libera etiam nos ab omni peccato. . . . da nobis ut voluntatem tuam faciamus omni tempore . . . . . tibi est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

Sacerdos. Ἅγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος. Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας δέσποτα, ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι, [κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε θεοῦ λόγε, τῷ πάτρι καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε, καὶ σύναρχε, πρόσδεξο τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, ἐξ ἀναξίων μου χειλέων βοῶντα καὶ λέγοντα·*

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον.]

(Incipit Communio.)

Sacerdos. Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Populus. Εἷς πατὴρ ἅγιος, εἷς υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰς ἑνότητα πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλήψεων.

Sacerdos (cruce signans populum):

Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων.

(Frangit panem:) Αἰνεῖτε τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς (Psalmus cxviii.).

(Panem dividit:) Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ συνδιακονήσει διὰ τῆς μεγάλης.

Sacerdos. Κελεύετε.

Clerus. Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κελεύει καὶ ἁγιάζει.

Sacerdos. Ἰδοὺ ἡγίασται καὶ τετελείωται.

oratio iisdem verbis in Græco Antiochenæ Liturgiæ textu legitur, ubi v. notam. Quominus vero totam interpolatam esse credam impedit quod in priori parte exhibentur vetustissimæ illius quam supra dedimus Liturgiæ Alexandrinæ verba.

* Scilicet hymnum *Unus pater sanctus*, populo prostrato et exclamante "*Domine miserere*," Sacerdote vero indicente hymnum communionisque principium solemnibus illis verbis: "*Sancta sanctis*." Quo finito psalmi canuntur, dum sacramentum conficitur. Ceterum vide supra pag. 123. 125.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Diac. Aspiciamus.
Desunt.	*Sacerd.* Sancta Sanctis. Unus pater Sanctus, unus filius Sanctus, unus Spiritus Sanctus. Dominus vobiscum. Et c. sp. tuo. Domine J. C. miserere nostri. (etc.)

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Clerus. Εἷς πατὴρ ἅγιος (ter).
Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων·
Clerus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
Sacerdos. Αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον αὐτόν.
Ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς. (Ps. xlii.)

(Communio Populi:)

Σῶμα ἅγιον.
Αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.
Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε.
Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.

(Postcommunio.)

Sacerdos. Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοὶ δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σοῦ μυστηρίων, ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν σὲ φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, κύριε, χάρισαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵμα-

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Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Dominus vobiscum.

(*Communio Sacerdotis.*)

Corpus sanctum, pretiosum, vivum et verum D. N. et salvatoris J. C. quod datur ad remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam suscipientibus illud cum fide. Amen.

Sanguis sanctus pretiosus, vivificans et verus Domini et Salvatoris nostri J. C. qui datur ad remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam suscipientibus illum cum fide. Amen.

(Sequuntur alia theologice magis quam liturgice dicta.)

Communio Populi.

Hic est panis vitæ, qui de cœlo descendit, vere pretiosum corpus Emanuel Dei nostri. Amen.

Hic est calix vitæ, qui descendit de cœlo, qui est pretiosus sanguis Christi. Amen.

Postcommunio.

Quos vocasti, Domine, et sanctificasti, da illis partem in vocatione tua: comforta eos in amore tuo, et custodi eos in sanctitate tua, per Xt. unig. fil. tuum: per quem tibi et cum eo, etc. Amen.

τος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν θεοσεβείας, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· Ἐκφ. Δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

[(*Oratio ad Christum directa.*)]

[(Sacerdos.) Ἄναξ μέγιστε, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ σύναρχε, ὁ τῷ σῷ κράτει τὸν ἅδην σκολεύσας, καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμεύσας, καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας τῇ θεουργικῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ φωτιστικῇ αἴγλῃ τῆς σῆς ἀῤῥήτου θεότητος, αὐτὸς δέσποτα, διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵματος ἐξαπόστειλον τὴν ἀόρατόν σου δεξιὰν, τὴν πλήρη εὐλογιῶν, καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς εὐλόγησον, οἰκτείρησον, ὄθένωσον τῇ θείκῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ περίελε ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὴν κακοηθῆ καὶ ἁμαρτάδα σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐργασίαν· καταύγασον τοὺς νοητοὺς ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς περικειμένης ζοφερᾶς ἀνομίας, σύναψον ἡμᾶς τῷ παμμακαρίστῳ, τῷ εὐαρεστήσαντί σοι συλλόγῳ, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ καὶ σὺν σοὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι πᾶς ὕμνος πρέπει, τιμὴ, κράτος, προσκύνησίς τε καὶ εὐχαριστία, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.]*

* Septimi seculi esse auctorem, cum serioris omnino barbara ætatis dictione, tum barbaro illo ὁ Σύλλογος de Spiritu Sancto (qui scilicet Verbum etiam sit), comprobatur.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Domine qui æternum lumen vitæ et fortitudinem servis tuis tradidisti . . . . benedic illis etiam hac die et postea per D. N. J. C. per quem, etc. Amen.

Diac. Gratias agimus Domino cujus sancta suscepimus. . . . .

Sacerd. Exaltabo te rex meus et Deus meus. Et benedicam nomini tuo in sæcula, etc. (Ps. cxlv.)

*Oratio dominica.**

Pater noster qui es in cœlis, ne nos inducas in tentationem, cum participes facti fuerimus corporis sancti et sanguinis pretiosi: gratiasque agimus quod nos dignos feceris communicanti mysterio gloriæ et sanctitatis, quod omnem intelligentiam superat: benedicam tibi et laudabo nomen tuum in seculum et in seculum seculi.

Pop. Pater noster.

Sac. Laudem Domini loquitur os meum.

Et omnis caro benedicet nomen sanctum ejus in seculum seculi.

Pop. Pater noster.

Sac. Rector animorum . . . da nobis oculos intelligentiæ. Cor mundum crea in nobis, Domine, ut perpetuo intelligamus bonita-

* Morem hæcce aliquarum ecclesiarum indicant orationem dominicam, peracta communione, dicendi vel repetendi. Antiquo mori in ecclesia Alexandrina testimonium præbent et vetus Liturgia (vid. p. 119.) et textus noster Græcus (p. 162.).

(Dimissio Populi.)

Diaconus. Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Populus. Ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Sacerdos elata voce. Ἡ ἀγαπὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, ἡ χάρις τοῦ υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

(Oratio privata Sacerdotis in Sacello.)

Ἔδωκας ἡμῖν, δέσποτα τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐν τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, καὶ φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ἀμώμους ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ὁδήγησον εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ υἱοθεσίαν, καὶ εἰς τὰς μελλούσας αἰωνίους ἀπολαύσεις. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπωμεν, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.

Et dimittit dicens: Εὐλογείτω ὁ θεὸς ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ἁγιάζων καὶ σκέπων καὶ διατηρῶν πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς μεθέξεως τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

tem et amorem erga homines Dei nostri: benignus esto animæ nostræ, mentemque puram et rectam nobis largire qui corpus tuum et sanguinem percepimus, quia tuum est regnum, Domine, laus et benedictio, Pater, Fili, et Spiritus Sancte, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Oratio Benedictionis (super populum prostratum).

Domine Deus noster, lumen inextinguibile, respice servos tuos et ancillas tuas, sereque in cordibus eorum timorem nominis tui et numera illos ut fructificent in benedictione quibus datum est corpus tuum et sanguis tuus: utque habitet super eos qui inclinant capita sua coram te, populum tuum, viros, mulieres, et infantes, et nos etiam illis adjunge, protege, dirige et salva, per virtutem archangelorum tuorum. Ab omni opere malo remove nos: ad omne opus bonum adjunge nos: per Xum unig. tuum, per quem, etc. etc.

Desunt.

(*Subscriptio.*)

" Hic finem habet Liturgia Patrum nostrorum Apostolorum, orationes eorum et benedictiones eorum nobiscum sunt. Amen."

APPENDIX.

TABULÆ COMPARATÆ LITURGIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ.

I.

ORDO LITURGIARUM ECCLESIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ QUARTI QUINTIVE SECULI INTER SE COMPARATARUM.

(Oblatio.)

Liturgia Divi Marci.	Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.	Liturgia Apostolica Æthiopum.
Oratio introitus. Oratio osculi pacis. Oblatio munerum a populo facta. Oratio protheseos.	Oratio osculis pacis.	Oratio osculi pacis.

Prima Eucharistiæ Pars.

Præfatio Eucharistiæ. Laudis et gratiarum actio (Vere dignum).	Præfatio, ut in Gr. Præfatio amplif.	Præfatio brevior.
Preces pro ecclesia (cum diptychis mortuorum).	Preces pro ecclesia (cum diptychis mortuorum).	Preces pro ecclesia.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Vere pleni sunt cœli, etc.)	Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Vere pleni sunt cœli, etc.)	Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Vere pleni sunt cœli, etc.)

Secunda Eucharistiæ Pars.

Verba institutionis.	Verba institutionis, ut in Gr. at diverso procœmio.	Verba institutionis, ut in Gr. at diverso procœmio.
Mortem D. annunciantes.	Mortem D. annunciantes, etc. ut in Gr.	Memoriam mortis agentis, etc.

Liturgia Divi Marci.	Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptarum.	Liturgia Apostolica Æthiopum.
Invocatio Sp. Sanct. super populum et munera.	Invocatio Sp. Sanct. ut in Gr.	Invocatio Sp. Sanct. super panem et vinum.
Ut fiant omnibus ea sumentibus.	Ut in Gr.	Ut in Gr.
Consecratio populi: ante P.N.	Consecratio populi.	
Pater Noster.		
Benedictio post P.N.	Benedictio.	

II.

ORDO ORIGENIANUS COMPARATUS CUM EO QUI INDE A CONSTANTINI TEMPORIBUS INVALUIT.

Tempus Origenis.	Additamenta quarti incuntisque quinti seculi.	Additamenta quinti, sexti, septimique seculi.
		Introitus, Lectio, Litania, Offertorium.
Oblatio populi.	Oratio introitus.	Orationes sacerdotis secretæ.
Præfatio.		
Gratiarum actio.		
Preces precatoriæ:		
pro ecclesia.		
pro pace cœlesti et imperii.	pro imperatore Christiano.	Orationes pacis, incensus, prothescos.
pro ægrotantibus et afflictis.		
pro peregrinantibus et navigantibus.		
pro benedictione terræ.		
pro pie defunctis.	pro Marco Evangelista	Invocatio B. Mariæ V.
Introductio ad hymnum seraphicum.	pro offerentibus.	pro episcopo (patriarcha), civitate, et populo.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.		
Vere pleni sunt cœli.		
Verba institutionis.		
"Memores igitur," cum invocatione Spiritus.		Amplificationes.
Consecratio populi.		
Oratio dominica.		
	Oratio Libera nos.	
Communio.		
Postcommunio.		
Dimissio cum benedictione.		Oratio ad Christum directa.

III.

ORDO ANTIQUISSIMUS COMPARATUS CUM TRIBUS POSTERIORIBUS LITURGIIS.

Osculum Pacis.

Ordo antiquissimus apud Æthiopes servatus.	Græci Marci, Coptica Cyrilli, et Æthiopum secunda.
Oblatio populi, cum precibus offerentium pro more et facultate.	Oblatio liturgica (introitus, oblatio, prothesis).

Eucharistia (Laudes).

Præfatio (laudes).	Præfatio.
Gratiarum actio:	Gratiarum actio (Æth. 2. excepta).
"Gratias agimus tibi D."	"Vere dignum et justum."
(præparatoria ad passionem et institutionem cœnæ).	Preces: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, "Vere pleni sunt cœli," etc.

Celebratio Mysterii.

A. Consecratio.

Verba institutionis (Evangelii verba).	Verba institutionis (cum introductione et amplificatione).
Invocatio Spiritus Sancti, cum doxologia: "Recordantes igitur mortis, super oblationes hujus eccl. et pro sanctificatione eorum qui de iis sumunt."	Invocatio super [populum et] munera: "Ut fiant omnibus," etc.
Consecratio et obsignatio populi devoventis sese (præmissa exhortatione): "Omnibus benedic in Christo."	Consecratio et obsignatio populi, sacerdote benedicente, interposita oratione dominica (exc. Æth. 2.)

B. Communio.

Hymnus laudis.	
Communio populi.	Communio.
Gratiarum actio pro percepto mysterio.	Consecratio populi, Oratio dominica, Gratiarum actio } in Æth. 2.
Impositio manuum.	
(Benedictio populi dimissoria).	Benedictio dimissoria.
Dimissio populi.	

CAPUT SECUNDUM.

LITURGIA ECCLESIÆ ANTIOCHENÆ.

DE LITURGIA ANTIOCHENA TESTIMONIA GENERALIA.

1. De *Ignatio* (sub Trajano) *Psalmodiæ antiphonicæ in ecclesia Antiochena ex visione institutore*, Socrates, H. E. vi. 8. (Bingh. xiii. 5. 5.): Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια. . . . Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν, ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνούντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν. Quæ verba cur ad hymnum matutinum et ad illa verba in communione cantata, *Unus Sanctus*, tamquam Antiphonam versus solemnis, *Sancta sanctis*, spectare videantur, dictum jam est, ubi de hoc Liturgiæ loco disputavimus; v. etiam Prolegomena.

2. De *Psalmodia*, usque ad Leontii ætatem, qui Antiochiæ circiter annum 350 episcopus erat, non a *duobus choris* vicissim canentibus (igitur a præcentore et uno respondentium choro) persoluta, v. Theodoretum (citca ann. 440), H. E. lib. ii. c. 24.: Οὗτοι (Flavianus et Diodorus, qui rejecta Leontii communione quippe qui Ariani hæresi faveret, fideles in martyrum basilicis congregaverant) πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾄδειν τὴν Δαυϊτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον πάντοσε διέδραμε καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα.

3. *Cyrilli Hierosolymitani* (c. ann. 350) explicationem Liturgiæ Antiochenæ in Prolegomenis dedimus integram: quæ ad singula illustranda necessaria esse videbantur, suo loco Græce attulimus.

4. *Jacobus Edessenus* (c. ann. 650). Expositionem Liturgiæ Jacobi (ex Assemani Bibl. Orient. i. 479. cf. Assemani jun. Cod. Lit. IV. B. Missale Hierosol. p. 240–245.) hic repetimus, omissis iis partibus, quæ deinceps commentarii loco ad singulos quos illustrant Liturgiæ locos afferentur.

" De oblationis sacrificii ordine ac ritu doctrinam quam a patribus nostris accepimus edisserendam aggredimur. De mystica igitur hac rationalis et incruenti sacrificii administratione, hoc est oblatione, vel Liturgia, hæc nobis patres nostri tradiderunt. Post lectionem sacrorum librorum veteris ac novi testamenti tres oportet fieri orationes. . . . Post communionem autem præceperunt fieri confessionem et gratiarum actionem, eo quod digni facti sunt participatione corporis et sanguinis. Item mandarunt fieri orationem impositionis manus; atque ita a ministro populum dimitti, ut abeant in pace.

" Necesse est autem, ut in hoc loco de varietatibus, quæ in Liturgia contingunt, disseram. Duo itaque ordines in hac oblationis Liturgia occurrunt: alter ad oblationem et confectionem ipsorum (mysteriorum) pertinet; alter ad commemorationes. Et quidem, qui in urbe regia, aut in Græcorum provinciis commorantur, sicut nos offerimus, sic et ipsi commemorationes peragunt: primum scilicet offerunt, deinde commemorationes statim perficiunt; licet hæ apud nonnullos plures sint, apud alios pauciores, et magis particulares. Atque idcirco sacerdos ait: ' Memento, Domine, eorum quorum meminimus et quorum non meminimus.' Initium autem ordinis commemorationum ibi est, cum dicimus: ' Item offerimus tibi hoc idem tremendum et incruentum sacrificium pro Sion matre omnium ecclesiarum,' etc. Patres vero Alexandrini aliter offerunt: nam prius ordinem commemorationum implent, deinde subjungunt ordinem sacræ oblationis. Est etiam diversitas in commemorationibus

cum dicitur: 'Sicut erat, et est, et permanet in generationem generationum, et in omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.' Quam quidem orationem in urbe Alexandria ipse sacerdos terminat, inquiens: 'Sicut erat,' etc. Et postea populus dicit 'Amen' dumtaxat. Aliaquoque intercedit in compluribus ecclesiis, nam pro 'Unus pater sanctus,' etc., nonnulli dicunt 'Unus dominus, unus filius Jesus Christus in gloria Dei patris, Amen.'

"Tribus vicibus autem tradiderunt nobis Patres, ut cruces super mysteria exprimeremus. . . . . Item noveris, quod si undique circumassistant ministri, oportet super omnes a sacerdote crucem fieri. Sin autem, ad eam dumtaxat partem crux fiat ubi adstant. Similiter et canones, quos ministri recitant, iis absentibus non est necesse a sacerdote recitari. Responsiones autem, quas populus dicit, ut 'Habemus ad dominum; Dignum et justum est; Unus pater,' etc., et aliæ hujusmodi, quibus populus sacerdoti respondet, etiamsi nemo præter presbyterum adsit, eæ tamen a presbytero prætermittendæ non sunt, eo quod omnes necessariæ sint, et Liturgiæ pars censeantur."

LITURGIA, QUÆ S. JACOBI DICITUR,

ECCLESIÆ ANTIOCHENÆ ET HIEROSOLYMITANÆ,

AD QUARTI SECULI ORDINEM QUANTUM FIERI POTUIT RESTITUTA.*

Sacerdos.†

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κύριου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἀγάπη θεοῦ

* Omittuntur quæ Byzantinorum Græco, et Syriaco Monophysitarum textui non sunt communia. Quæ non ad textum quarti seculi pertinent, sed quinti esse seculi videntur, per minusculas distinguuntur. Textus Syriaci interpretationem ea tantum de causa non apposuimus ubicunque cum Græco ad verbum congruit, ne nimis excresceret libri volumen.

† Populum cruce signans, secundum Jacobum Edessenum. Præcedit vero secundum Epiphanium Osculum pacis: intranti sacerdoti Diaconus aquam offert ad manus lavandas.

De iis quæ Anaphoram seculo septimo præcedebant orationibus Jacobus Edessenus, illius seculi auctor eruditissimus et prudentissimus, ita loquitur:

" Post lectionem S. Scripturæ tres orationes dicendæ: Pro Audientibus, pro Energumenis, pro Pœnitentibus. Cessaverunt orationes cum disciplina, diaconi vero ad illas orationes quasi revera fierent respicientes exclamant: *Abite Audientes! Abite Energumeni! Audite Pœnitentes!*

" Tunc Diaconus exclamat: *Claudantur januæ!*

" Post concilium 318 patrum (Nicænum) symbolum fidei insertum (quod idem Antiochiæ a Petro fullone factum esse constat), quo recitato tres *Orationes fidelium* dicuntur: pro pace, quando imponuntur manus, quando sacra mensa detegitur.

" Quibus peractis Diaconus exclamat: Attenti! (sc. Στῶμεν καλῶς).

" Quo facto Sacerdos populo pacem adprecatur, cruce eum signans, quod antiquitus factum fuit verbis: 'Pax vobiscum omnibus,' deinde vero hisce:

πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.*

Populus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Sacerdos. Ἄνω [σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ] τὰς καρδίας.

Populus. Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

" Caritas Dei Patris, gratia unigeniti Filii, et communio Spiritus Sancti, sit cum vobiscum omnibus.

" Populo vero responsio hæc semper:

" Et cum spiritu tuo.

" Alexandrini Patres habent pro eo:

" Dominus vobiscum. Sursum corda, etc."

Seculo quarto ineunte preces quæ in celebratione eucharistiæ ad altare dicebantur non omnes fuisse præscriptas, sed quasdam etiam, ut cum Tertulliano loquar, de pectore dici solitas, probatur loco classico a Binghamo mire vexato (xiii. 5. 7.), epistolæ Epiphanii ad Joannem episcopum Hierosolymitanum, quæ Latine tantum exstat, hisce verbis:

" Illud quoque audiens admiratus sum, quod quidam qui solent ultro citroque portare rumusculos, et his quæ audierunt semper addere, ut tristitias et rixas inter fratres concitent, te quoque turbaverunt et dixerunt, quod in oratione, quando offerimus sacrificia Deo, soleamus pro te dicere: *Domine, præsta Joanni, ut recte credat.* Noli nos in tantum putare rusticos ut hoc tam aperte dicere potuerimus. Quamquam enim hoc in corde meo semper orem, tamen, ut simpliciter fatear, nunquam in alienas aures protuli, ne te viderer parvi pendere, dilectissime. Quando autem complemus orationem secundum ritum mysteriorum et pro omnibus, et pro te quoque dicimus, Custodi illum, qui prædicat veritatem: vel certe ita: Tu præsta, domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis: sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit et habuerit oratio consequentiam."

* Hanc lectionem, apostolica S. Pauli verba in calce secundæ ad Corinthios epistolæ apprime sequentem, præbet Theodoretus Ep. ad Jo. Œconomum, Opp. iii. p. 132. Serm. hisce verbis: Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ. . . . . τοῦτο δὲ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς ἐστι λειτουργίας προοίμιον.

Textus Græcus Demetrii Ducæ (Par. 1526) quem vide ap. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. t. iii.: ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Similiter textus Renaudotii Syriacus: Caritas Patris, gratia Filii, et communicatio Spiritus sancti, sint cum vobis omnibus.

Propius accedit ad antiquam veritatem textus Nestorianorum qui SS. Apostolorum dicitur, apud Renaud. ii. 589.: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et caritas Dei Patris, et communicatio Spiritus Sancti, sit cum omnibus nobis nunc, etc.

Sacerdos. Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.
Populus. Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.*

Sacerdos.

Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, πρέπον τε καὶ ὀφειλόμενον, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σὲ δοξολογεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ πάσης κτίσεως ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀορατοῦ δημιουργῷ· ὃν ὑμνοῦσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν· ἥλιος τε καὶ σελήνη, καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἄστρων χορὸς, γῆ, θάλασσα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐπουράνιος [πανήγυρις]† ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί τε καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ δυνά-

* Textum in MS. interpolatum et mancum (omissa enim sunt quæ inter Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας et Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον dicenda erant) supplet locus Cyrilli Hierosolymitani, qui in quintâ illa catechesi mystagogica, i. e. in Homilia ad Catechumenos modo initiatos directa, hæc profert: Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας . . . . . εἶτα ἀποκρίνεσθε· Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον . . . . . εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει· Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ . . . . εἶτα λέγετε· Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Ab ea quæ jam sequitur oratione Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον usque ad Invocationem, secundum Jacobum Edessenum prior pars Oblationis pertinet: Commemoratio est Liturgiæ pars altera. Priorem accurate sic describit auctor ille doctissimus:

"Incipit: Dignum et justum est nos te laudare. Persequitur totum salutis ordinem, scilicet creationem hominis, redemtionem, et Christi passionem. Pro Spiritus Sancti quoque communicatione precatur:" quibus ultimis verbis Invocationem Spiritus Sancti significat. Eodem modo jam Cyrillus in illa Catechesi, quæ post illustratam Præfationem ita pergit:

Μετὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἄστρων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως λογικῆς τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ὁρατῆς τε, καὶ ἀοράτου· ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, δυνάμεων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, θρόνων, τῶν χερουβὶμ τῶν πολυπροσώπων· δυνάμει λέγοντες του Δαβίδ· Μεγαλύνατε τὸν κύριον σὺν ἐμοί. Μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν σεραφὶμ, ἃ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐθεάσατο Ἡσαΐας παρεστηκότα κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα· Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ. . . . . Sequuntur de prece Invocationis quæ suo loco dabimus.

† Vox πανήγυρις non redditur in textu Syrorum.

μεις φοβεραὶ, καὶ τὰ χερουβὶμ πολυόμματα καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ, ἃ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτει τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τὰς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα, κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ἀκατάπαύστοις στόμασιν, ἀσιγήτοις δοξολογίαις, τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου δόξης, λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα·

Populus.

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριε Σαβαὼθ·
Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου.
[Ὡσαννὰ ὁ * ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις·
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.
Ὡσαννὰ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.]

(Sacerdos, signans dona :)

Ἅγιος εἶ βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ πάσης ἁγιωσύνης κύριος καὶ δωτήρ· ἅγιος καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἅγιον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐρευνῶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰ βάθη σου τοῦ θεοῦ. Ἅγιος εἶ παντοκράτορ, παντοδύναμε, ἀγαθέ.† Αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν τὸν κύριον

* Ὡ noli delendum credere quia in locis biblicis (Matt. ix. Marc. xi.) non occurrat. Qui Syrorum linguam loquebantur hujus Liturgiæ auctores probe noverant sensum vocis Osanna esse "Salvos fac nos, quæsumus," et ideo vocativi notam in sequentibus esse sensui vel maxime consentaneam. De *Hosanna* et *Benedictus* vide quæ ad Canonem Gregorianum dicimus. Sunt scilicet additamentum a choro concinendum, posteriorum temporum usui adaptatum, cum sacerdotis quæ sequuntur preces secretæ agerentur, populo in silentio precante.

† Inserit hic textus Græcus : Φοβερὲ, εὔσπλαγχνε, ὁ συμπαθὴς μάλιστα περὶ τὸ πλάσμα τὸ σόν· ὁ ποιήσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν· ὁ χαρισάμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παραδείσου ἀπόλαυσιν, παραβάντα δὲ τὴν ἐντολήν σου, καὶ ἐκπεσόντα, τοῦτον οὐ παρεῖδες, οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες, ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλ' ἐπαίδευσας αὐτὸν ὡς εὔσπλαγχνος πατὴρ, ἐκάλεσας αὐτὸν διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· Ὕστερον δὲ . . . Quæ ideo hic afferimus quod hujusmodi preces, at libere, ut spiritus ferebat, hoc loco esse dictas a sacerdote vel ab episcopo sacra faciente, Chrysostomus, qui et Antiochiæ presbyteri, et Byzantii epi-

ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐξαπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα ἐλθὼν τὴν σὴν ἀνανεώσῃ καὶ ἀνεγείρῃ εἰκόνα· ὃς κατελθὼν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου [καὶ Θεοτόκου*]· συναναστραφείς τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πάντα ᾠκονόμησε πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. μέλλων δὲ τὸν ἑκούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν διὰ σταυροῦ θάνατον ὁ ἀναμάρτητος† ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καταδέχεσθαι, ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας·

Λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων καὶ ἀθανάτων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν [καὶ ἀναδείξας σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ‡], εὐχαριστήσας, ✠ ἁγιάσας, (✠) κλάσας §, ✠ ἔδωκεν [ἡμῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις ‖] εἰπών· Λάβετε, φάγετε. Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos.

Ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν [καὶ ἀναδείξας σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ‡], εὐχαριστήσας, ἁγιάσας, εὐλογήσας, πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔδωκεν [ἡμῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς ¶] εἰπών, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

scopi munere functus est, diserte docet in loco classico quem ad liturgiam ejus nomine insignitam exhibemus.

* Insertum post concilium Ephesianum anni 431.

† V. infra ad verba ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος.

‡ Desunt in omnibus antiquis consecrationis formulis.

§ Primum crucis signum super elementa secundum Jacob. Edess.

‖ Hæc inficete at antiquitus addita, cum vetustissima liturgia ecclesiæ Antiochenæ illis quæ ferebantur Apostolicis Constitutionibus inscreretur, tanquam Apostolorum, imprimisque Jacobi, opus.

‡ V. supra.

¶ Interpolata ab auctore Constitutionum: quod notandum.

Sacerdos.

Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.

Populus. Τὸν θάνατόν σου, κύριε, καταγγέλλομεν * καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασίν σου ὁμολογοῦμεν.

Sacerdos.

Μεμνημένοι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῶν ζωοποιῶν αὐτοῦ μαθημάτων, τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῆς τριημέρου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνόδου καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδρας καὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, ὅταν ἔλθῃ μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, ὅταν μέλλῃ ἀποδιδόναι ἑκαστῷ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν σοι δέσποτα τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν†, δεόμενοι ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ποιήσῃς μεθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταποδώσῃς ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ ἄφατόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ὑπερβὰς καὶ ἐξαλείψας τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τῶν σῶν ἱκετῶν. Ὁ γὰρ λαός σου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία σου ἱκετεύουσί σε.

Populus. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, κύριε ὁ θεὸς, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Sacerdos. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα τ' πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον·

[(Deinde inclinata cervice dicit ‡:) Τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ σύν-

* Legitur καταγγέλομεν.

† Quæ jam sequuntur ad litaniæ modum expressa dubiæ videri possunt antiquitatis, quippe quæ a Cyrillo ne verbo quidem sint memorata. Neque tamen auserim illa ex textu seculi quarti expungere.

‡ Quæ uncis inclusimus Cyrillo posteriora esse, ipsius verba arguunt quæ

θρονόν σοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ, τὸ συμβασιλεῦον, τὸ ὁμούσιόν τε καὶ συναΐδιον· τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, καὶ τῇ καινῇ σου διαθήκῃ· τὸ καταβὰν ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ καὶ μεῖναν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τὸ καταβὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους σου ἐν εἴδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου Σιὼν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς· αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον κατάπεμψον δέσποτα ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα ταῦτα·

Et erigens se exclamat:]

*Ἵνα ἐπιφοιτήσαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἁγιάσῃ (✠) * καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου·*

Populus. *Ἀμήν.*

Καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· †

Populus. *Ἀμήν.*

Ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν, εἰς στηριγμὸν τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ἐθεμελίωσας ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς πίστεως, ἵνα πύλαι ᾅδου μὴ κατισχύθωσιν αὐτῆς, ῥυόμενος αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ σκανδάλων καὶ ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν, διαφυλάττων αὐτὴν μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

infra dabimus. At jam quinto seculo ineunte esse inserta nil dubito: quippe quæ in Melchitarum et Jacobitarum liturgiis iisdem verbis expressa inveniantur.

* Secundum crucis signum super elementa secundum Jacobum Edess. quando sacerdos dicit: *Ut faciat hunc panem*, etc.: ubi observat quosdam codices præbere: ut illabens ostendat hunc panem, etc.

† Solemnia hæc invocationis verba tamquam hymnum illum Seraphicum et cœlestem excipientia ita refert Cyrillus, l. 1.: *Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Σεραφὶμ Θεολογίαν ταύτην λέγομεν, ὅπως κοινωνοὶ τῆς ὑμνωδίας ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίοις γενωμέθα στρατιαῖς. Εἶτα ἁγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεὸν, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ. Πάντως γὰρ, οὗ ἂν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται.* En transsubstantionem, si quæ sit, elementorum per verba invocationis perfectam!

(Inclinatus.)

* Προσφέρομέν σοι δέσποτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων σου τόπων, οὓς ἐδόξασας τῇ θεοφανείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· προηγουμένως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνδόξου Σιὼν, τῆς μητρὸς πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησίων· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας· πλουσίας καὶ νῦν τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος ἐπιχορήγησον αὐτῇ δέσποτα.

Μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισκόπων τῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὀρθοδόξως ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας.

Μνήσθητι κύριε πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, ξενιτευόντων χριστιανῶν, τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς, τῶν ἐν φυλακαῖς, τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις, τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις καὶ βασάνοις καὶ πικραῖς δουλείαις ὄντων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.

* Altera pars oblationis secundum Jacobum Edessenum. Postquam de Invocatione egit (v. supra ad primam orationem) Jacobus hæc addit: "Sequuntur exhortationes (i. e. Commemorationes) quo tempore oblationes fiunt." Qua de re hæc observat (apud Assem. C. L. ii. p. 243. v. supra): "Qui in urbe regia habitant (Constantinopoli) et in provinciis Græcis ita ut nos primum oblationem faciant, deinde ad Commemorationem procedunt cujus initium est, 'Offerimus tibi etiam hoc tremendum et incruentum sacrificium pro Sione matre ecclesiarum.' Patres vero Alexandrini primum Commemorationem faciunt, deinde Oblationem." Quæ accurata et memorabilis est optimi illius theologi observatio.

Illustrissimum est de singulis Cyrilli testimonium, qui postquam de Invocationis oratione egit, quippe qua sacrificium spirituale et incruentum absolvatur, ita pergit:

Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν θεὸν, ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησίων εἰρήνης· ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως· ὑπὲρ βασιλέων· ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις· ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων· καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων δεόμεθα πάντες ἡμεῖς, ταύτην προσφέροντες τὴν θυσίαν.

Εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων· ὅπως ὁ θεὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξηται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν. Εἶτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων, καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων· μεγίστην ὄνησιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται, τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας.

Μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν νοσούντων καὶ καμνόντων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένων, τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχείας ἰάσεως αὐτῶν καὶ σωτηρίας.

Μνήσθητι κύριε εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, ὄμβρων εἰρηνικῶν, δρόσων ἀγαθῶν, καρπῶν· εὐφορίας, καὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου· οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ· ἀνοίγεις σὺ τὴν χεῖρά σου, καὶ ἐμπιπλᾷς πᾶν ζῶον εὐδοκίας.

Μνήσθητι καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐντειλαμένων ἡμῖν τοῦ μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

Ἔτι μνησθῆναι καταξίωσον καὶ τῶν τὰς προσφορὰς ταύτας προσενεγκάντων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕκαστος προσήνεγκεν, ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἔχει, καὶ τῶν ἀρτίως σοι ἀνεγνωσμένων.* Μνήσθητι, κύριε ὁ θεὸς, τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθημεν ὀρθοδόξων, ἀπὸ Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. Αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀνάπαυσον, ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν· ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός· ἔνθα ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ καταλάμπει διὰ παντός.

Ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς, χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα, ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατεύθυνον κύριε, κύριε, ἐπισυνάγων ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου, ὅτε θέλεις καὶ ὡς θέλεις, μόνον χωρὶς αἰσχύνης καὶ παραπτωμάτων, διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος† φανεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Populus. Ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησον ὁ θεὸς τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἑκούσια, τὰ ἀκούσια· τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ· τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· τὰ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ· τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν, τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν συγχώρησον, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος·

* Nomina igitur ex diptychis hic a Diacono legebantur.

† Vide illustre Hieronymi testimonium (Contra Pelag. ii.): "Sacerdotum quotidie ora concelebrant ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος, quod in lingua nostra dicitur: qui solus est sine peccato."

Sacerdos. *Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ καὶ δεδοξασμένος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.**

Populus. *Ἀμήν.*

Sacerdos. *Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.*

Populus. *Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.*

Sacerdos.

†*Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφὶμ, ᾧ παρεστήκασι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαὶ, τὰ μὲν προσενεχθέντα σοι δῶρα, δόματα, καρπώματα, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς προσεδέξω, καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι κατηξίωσας ἀγαθὲ, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· ἁγίασον δέσποτα καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα καὶ τὰ πνεύματα· καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀκατακρίτως, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ συντετριμμένῃ, ἀνεπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον Θεὺν πατέρα, καὶ λέγειν·*

* De doxologia hæc Jacobus Edessenus (l. 1.): "In commemorationibus cum dicitur 'Sicut erat et est et permanet in generationem generationum et in omnia secula seculorum, Amen;' in urbe Alexandria ipse sacerdos terminat dicens *Sicut erat*, etc. populo respondente tantum, *Amen*." In ecclesia Antiochena igitur populus omnia hæc verba respondebat: *Sicut erat*, etc. At ipsa hæc verba ab antiquissimæ doxologiæ formula fuisse aliena Binghamus optime probavit (xiv. 2. 1.), quippe quæ uno tenore ita efferebatur:

ᾧ ἡ δόξα [καὶ τὸ κράτος] εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

† Cyrillus l. 1. ita pergit: *Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγομεν ἐκείνην, ἣν ὁ Σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαρᾶς συνειδήσεως πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν καὶ λέγοντες· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, etc. quæ deinde sigillatim usque ad illa verba: Libera nos a malo, persequitur et spiritualiter explicat.

Populus. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· κ. τ. λ.*

Sacerdos inclinatus dicit:

Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, κύριε κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ εἰδὼς τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν· ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεί.

(Syrus.)
Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem tibi, etc.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

[Diaconus.† Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν.

Sacerdos. Σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν οἱ δοῦλοί σου κύριε τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐχένας, ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ πλούσια ἐλέη. Πλουσίαν τὴν χάριν σου καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν σου ἐξαπόστειλον ἡμῖν δέσποτα, καὶ ἁγίασον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, ἵνα ἄξιοι γενώμεθα κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων·

εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Σὺ γὰρ προσκυνητὸς καὶ δεδοξασμένος ὑπάρχεις ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον, νῦν καὶ ἀεί.

(Syrus.)
per gratiam et misericordiam Jesu Christi Domini nostri, cum quo laudatus et benedictus es, in cœlis et in terra cum spiritu tuo, etc.

* Scilicet quinque priora petita, usque ad verba: Dimitte nobis peccata, etc.

† Quæ hic leguntur inter Pacem et *Sancta Sanctis* textum incertum exhibent, in Græcis Syriacisque diversum: quæ maximam partem post annum 431 stabilita esse credo. Syrorum liturgia psalmodiam ex hymno cherubico et psalmorum versibus notissimis conflatam exhibet. Græci textus oratio, Ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις, iisdem fere verbis legitur in textu Alexandrino interpolato: v. supra p. 123. Etiam Cyrillus post illa quæ jam adduximus verba de Oratione dominica statim ita pergit: Μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις· ἅγια τὰ προκείμενα, ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἅγιοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου καταξιωθέντες. Εἶτα ὑμεῖς λέγετε· Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἀληθῶς γὰρ εἷς ἅγιος, φύσει ἅγιος· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἅγιοι, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ εὐχῇ. Jacobi Edesseni testimonium infra afferemus, ubi illa verba leguntur.

Populus. Ἀμήν.
Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Populus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
Diaconus. Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.

(Sacerdos.)

Ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· σὺ γὰρ εἶπας δέσποτα, Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀκατάληπτε Θεοῦ λόγε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε καὶ ἀχώριστε, προσδέξαι τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἀναιμάκτοις σου Θυσίαις, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ βοῶντος καὶ λέγοντος·]

(Syrus.)

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus potens Sabaoth; pleni sunt cœli et terra laudibus tuis. Exaltare super cœlos Deus, et super omnem terram gloria tua. Ad te levavi oculos qui habitas in cœlis.

Et post pauca Eucharistiam accipiens in manus dicit:]

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.*
Sancta Sanctis.

* Hæc verba explicans Jacobus Edessenus addit: "Quæ verba alta voce cum proclamat, sacramentum elevat et populo monstrat: quo facto populus exclamat: Unus Pater, unus Sanctus," etc.

Solemnia hæc verba, quæ apud Græcos ubique sacratissimum communionis initium indicant, ab Antiochenæ ecclesiæ consuetudine antiquissima originem ducere multa sunt quæ persuadent. Inter quæ primo loco nomino quæ de Ignatii psalmodiæ instituto a Socrate narrantur, quem locum in fronte hujus capituli dedi. Hymnum habes antiphonicum, hoc modo:

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις·
Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός·
ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Vel secundum *Syrum*:

Unus Pater Sanctus:
Unus Filius Sanctus:
Unus Spiritus Sanctus.

Quæ forma ut est magis propria (illa enim Græca nil nisi extrema hymni

Populus.

Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.	(Syrus.) Unus Pater sanctus, unus Filius sanctus, unus Spiritus sanctus.*

(Tum Sacerdos panem frangit, et partem in calicem immergens, dicit:)

Ἕνωσις τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	Inspergitur sanguis Domini nostri corpori ejus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

Fractio panis et signatio calicis.†

matutini verba cum doxologia exhibet) ita et antiquior mihi videtur. Accedit quod Ignatius laudem sanctissimæ trinitatis in visione audisse dicitur, quod idem est ac si dictum esset laudem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Respiciunt vero omnia hæc ad angelorum cantum quem audivit Jesaias propheta.

Frustra testimonium secundi vel etiam quarti seculi quærunt ad hunc usque diem viri quidam docti in decantatis illis Philopatridis verbis: Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθείς.

Respiciunt hæc verba ad eam liturgiæ partem, quæ ab oratione dominica incipiens cantilena illa liturgica communionem proxime præcedente terminatur. At inficetus Philopatridis auctor, qui Luciani nomen mentitur, subacta jamdudum a Saracenis Ægypto, atque imperante, ut primum vidit divinum Niebuhrii acumen, Nicephoro Phoca, circa annum 968 vixit, prope regni ejus finem. V. Niebuhr. Præfatio ad Leonis Diaconi Histor. p. ix. Clarissimus Byzantinæ historiæ auctor Hasius, Niebuhrio teste, idem sensit: Lehmannus, Luciani editor, Niebuhrii rationes se non intellexisse dicit, quod eo magis mirum, quia sententiam ipsam probabilem esse opinatur. Confer Neander, ii. 188. N.

* His verbis testimonium præbet Jacobus Edessenus (l. 1.): "Diversa in diversis ecclesiis obtinet consuetudo: nam pro *Unus Pater Sanctus* nonnulli dicunt: *Unus Dominus, unus Filius Jesus Christus, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.*"

† Hoc loco secundum Jacobum Ed. tertium fit crucis signum super elementa. Cyrilli verba hæc sunt: Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος, μετὰ μέλους θείου προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ λέγοντος· Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος . . . . . γευόμενοι

Communio cleri et populi.

Psalmodia: Ps. 23. 33. et alii.*

Post communionem populi:

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ διὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν συγκαταβὰς τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν δούλων σου, καὶ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἐπουρανίου τραπέζης, μὴ κατακρίνῃς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἀχράντων σου μυστηρίων, ἀλλὰ φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὲ ἐν ἁγιασμῷ τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, ἵνα ἅγιοι γενόμενοι εὕρωμεν μέρος καὶ κληρονομίαν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων, ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ προσώπου σου, διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Diaconus. Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν.

Sacerdos.

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, ὅτι σοὶ τὰς αὐχένας ἐκλίναμεν. Ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ πλήρη εὐλογιῶν καὶ εὐλόγησον τὸν λαόν σου· διαφύλαξον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἵνα ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς δοξάζωμέν σε τὸν μόνον ζῶντα καὶ ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν· τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμο-

γὰρ, οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. (Ad quæ Touttée affert verba Origenis in Matth. p. 254. de pane eucharistico loquentis: τυπικὸν καὶ συμβολικὸν σῶμα.) Καὶ προσιὼν οὖν . . . δέχου τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιλέγων τὸ Ἀμήν. . . . . Εἶτα μετὰ τοῦ κοινωνῆσαί σε τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ προσέρχου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τοῦ αἵματος μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλὰ κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, ἁγιάζου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνων Χριστοῦ. (h. e. corpore leviter inclinato, stantes enim Græci communicant.)

* Formula tradendi corpus et sanguinem nulla exstat, neque in Græco textu neque in Syro.

οὐσιον τριάδα, πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. *Ἀμήν.* *

* *Formulam* dimittendi populum neuter præbet: Syrus exhibet hæc tantum: "Benedic omnibus, conserva omnes, etc., vel etiam benedictionem pro ecclesiarum consuetudine et festorum varietate diversam: qua recitata Diaconus incipit cantare psalmum: Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore. (Ps. 33.) Quo dicto abeunt et finitur Liturgia." Quæ ideo hic exscribo, quod disertè probant, nullam revera fuisse in Liturgiæ antiquæ libris formulam præscriptam dimittendi populum.

CAPUT TERTIUM.

ECCLESIÆ CONSTANTINOPOLITANÆ LITURGIÆ ANTIQUISSIMÆ,

SIVE

S. BASILII ET S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI LITURGIÆ

COLLATÆ SECUNDUM TEXTUM CODICIS BARBERINI, SECULI OCTAVI, CUJUS LACUNA SUPPLETUR, NUNC PRIMUM EDITÆ.

DE LITURGIA CONSTANTINOPOLITANA TESTIMONIA GENERALIA.

BASILII de Prece Invocationis eucharistica literis non tradita locus classicus (De Spiritu Sancto, cxxvii. in editione Parisina, § 66, 67.).

66. Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παραδεξάμεθα, ἅπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, οὐκοῦν ὅστις γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λάθοιμεν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια ζημιοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιιστῶντες τὸ κήρυγμα. Οἷον (ἵνα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κοινοτάτου πρῶτον μνησθῶ) τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠλπικότας κατασημαίνεσθαι, τίς ὁ διὰ γράμματος διδάξας; Τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχήν, ποῖον ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς γράμμα; Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς Εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως

ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα, ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες. Εὐλογοῦμεν δὲ τό τε ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, καὶ προσέτι αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. Ἀπὸ ποίων ἐγγράφων; Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς σιωπωμένης καὶ μυστικῆς παραδόσεως; Τί δέ; αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν χρίσιν τίς λόγος γεγραμμένος ἐδίδαξε; Τὸ δὲ τρὶς βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόθεν; Ἄλλα δὲ ὅσα περὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας ἐστὶ γραφῆς; Οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀδημοσιεύτου ταύτης καὶ ἀπορρήτου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐν ἀπολυπραγμονήτῳ καὶ ἀπεριεργάστῳ σιγῇ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφύλαξαν, καλῶς ἐκεῖνο δεδιδαγμένοι, τῶν μυστηρίων τὸ σεμνὸν σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι; Ἃ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, τούτων πῶς ἂν ἦν εἰκὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκθριαμβεύειν ἐν γράμμασιν. . . . . "

67. Ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ ἄγραφα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια διηγούμενον. Ἐῶ τἄλλα· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐκ ποιῶν γραμμάτων ἔχομεν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος παραδόσεως, κατὰ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀκόλουθον, ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα οὕτω καὶ πιστεύειν ὀφείλοντες, οὐσίαν τῷ βαπτίσματι τὴν ὁμολογίαν κατατιθέμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκολουθίας ὁμοίαν τῇ πίστει τὴν δόξαν ἀποδιδόναι. Εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς δοξολογίας ὡς ἄγραφον παραιτοῦνται, δότωσαν ἡμῖν τῆς τε κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὁμολογίας, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὧν ἀπηριθμησάμεθα, ἐγγράφους τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

Basilius, Epist. ccxli. (p. 243.; Bingh. xiii. 5, 6.): Μέμνησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι· ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατίαις ἐξεταζομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παῤῥησιαζομένων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς καρποὺς ἐπιδεικνυμένων, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα.

Epist. lxviii. (p. 104.; c. Bingh. l. l.): Ἐν εἰρήνῃ μενειν τὰς

λειπομένας ἡμῶν ἡμέρας εὐχόμεθα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ γενέσθαι τὴν κοίμησιν ἡμῶν αἰτοῦμεν.

Petrus Diaconus de Incarnatione, inter Fuglentii Opera, c. viii. p. 633.: "Basilius Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, quam pene universus frequentat oriens, inter cetera, 'Dona,' inquit, 'Domine, virtutem ac tutamentum; malos, quæsumus, bonos facito; bonos in bonitate conserva; omnia enim potes, et non est qui contradicat tibi, quem enim volueris salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ.'"

Addemus hic, coronidis loco, indicem eorum quæ continentur in Codice Barberinorum, ex quo Basilii et Chrysostomi Liturgiæ hic primum expressæ sunt.

Codex Barberinus, No. LXXVII., inscribitur:

Orationes Missæ et totum Officium secundum Basilium, conventus S. Marci de Florentia, ordinis Fratrum prædicatorum de hereditate Nicholai de Nicholis.

1. Liturgia S. Basilii, p. 1—49. (Goar, Eucholog. p. 135—149.)
2. Liturgia S. Chrysostomi sine titulo, p. 45—73. (Goar, Euchol. p. 85. sqq.)
3. Liturgia Præsanctificatorum, p. 74—86. (Goar, Euchol. p. 175.)
4. Orationes vespertinæ, p. 87—112. (Goar, λυχνικά.)
5. Orationes in media nocte dicendæ, p. 113—118.
6. Orationes matutinæ, p. 118—134.
7. Ad Laudes, p. 134.—156.
8. Ad Laudes in Jejuniis, p. 156—170. (Laudes, αἶνοι, dicuntur Ps. cxlviii.—cl. propter frequentem in iis vocem αἰνεῖτε. Goar.)
9. Liturgia Baptismi, p. 171—215.
10. Διακονικὰ εἰς τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανῶν, p. 215—241.
11. Εὐχὴ ἑσπερινὴ . . . τὰ παννύχια, p. 242—251.

12. Chrismatis confectio et preces ea in re faciundæ feria V. septimanæ sanctæ, p. 251—260.
13. Ἀπόταξις καὶ σύνταξις γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πάσχα συναγομένων πάντων τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Εἰρήνῃ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, p. 260—293.
14. Ἐπὶ θεμελίου τιθεμένου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, p. 293—295.
15. Καθιέρωσις τοῦ ναοῦ, 295—317.
16. Ἐγκαίνια, p. 317—322.
17. Χειροτονία ἐπισκόπου, p. 322—329.
18. ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ πρεσβυτέρου, p. 329—335.
19. διακόνου, p. 336—342.
20. διακονίσσης, p. 342—347.
21. ὑποδιακόνου, p. 348—350.
22. ἐπὶ προχειρήσεως ἀναγνώστου καὶ ψάλτου, p. 350—351.
23. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προχειρήσεως ἡγουμένου ἐν τῷ εὐαγεῖ πατριαρχείῳ, p. 351—363.
24. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ βασιλέως γινομένη, ὁσάκις εἰσέλθῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατριάρχης, p. 363—365.; altera, p. 365—370.
25. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προσαγωγῆς ἀρχόντων, p. 370—372.
26. εὐχὴ λεγομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐν τῷ δρόμωνι, p. 372—375. (in navigatione).
27. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μνηστείας, p. 376—377.
28. εἰς γάμους, p. 377—381.; altera, p. 381—386.
29. εὐχὴ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἀριστᾶν, p. 386.
μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου, p. 387.
30. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀποδημούντων, p. 388.
ἐπὶ πλοίου μέλλοντος πλεῖν, p. 388—390.
31. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀνομβρίας, p. 390.; altera, p. 392.
32. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀῤῥώστου, p. 394.; εἰς νοσοῦντας ἄλλη, p. 395.
33. ἐπὶ ἐλαίου ἀῤῥώστων, p. 398. sqq.
34. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων, p. 402.
ἐπὶ προπετῶς ὀμνύοντα, p. 402.
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν βρώμασιν σκανδαλισθέντων, p. 403.
ἐπὶ μιαροφαγήσαντος, p. 405.

ὑπὲρ χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, p. 406.
**ἐπὶ πασχόντων ὑπὸ δαιμόνων*, p. 408.
35. *εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον*, p. 409.
εἰς πωγωνοκουρίαν, p. 411.
εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν, p. 413.
εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον, p. 415.
36. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ποίμνης*, p. 417.
εἰς ψυχὴν κρινομένην, p. 418.
ἐπὶ τρυγώντων, p. 419.
εἰς ἀρχὴν σπορίμων, p. 420.
ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, p. 422.
ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων, p. 423.
ἐπὶ ξηρους, p. 424.
37. *εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βαΐα τοῖς βαϊοφόροις*, p. 425. altera *εἰς τὰ βαΐα*, p. 427.
38. *διακονικὰ τοῦ νιπτῆρος*, p. 428—431.
εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ νιπτῆρος, p. 431—434.
39. *εὐχὴ τῆς γονυκλισίας τῆς ἁγίας* N̄ Ā (*πεντηκοστῆς*? cf. Goar), p. 434—440.; altera, p. 440—447.
40. *εὐχὴ εἰς κούκια ἁγίων*,* p. 448.
ἐπὶ ξηρὸν βοῶν, p. 449.
ἐπὶ διακονίᾳ λεγομένῃ ἐν τῷ ἐμβάτῃ† . . . . p. 452.
ἐπὶ οἰκοδομούντων οἶκον, p. 452.
ἐπὶ σεισμόν, p. 454.
εἰς τὸν εἰσερχόμενον εἰς διακονίαν, p. 455.

* i. e. *εἰς κόκκια*, quod corrupte scribi a Græcis infimæ ætatis *κούκια* affirmat Goar, Euchol. p. 524. ed. Venet. V. infra. *κούκια ἁγίων* sunt favæ in festis Sanctorum ecclesiæ propositæ, et opponuntur eis quæ pro pauperibus præparabantur in commemorationibus defunctorum fidelium.

† Codex præbet *ἐνβατ* . . . Goar (p. 363.) dat *ἐν τῷ ἐμβάτῃ ἐκφωνητικώς*. Habetur oratio in benedicendo ad communem usum fonte vel cisterna (quam significationem lexica attribuunt feminino *ἡ ἐμβάτη*). Notanda verba: *Κύριε . . . ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκευάζων· μεταποίησον καὶ μετασκεύασον καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐνίσχυσον αὐτὸ κατὰ πάσης ἐπικειμένης ἐνεργείας.*

*ἐπὶ προσφερόντων κάρπον νέον,** p. 457.
τῶν κολλύβων ἤγουν τῶν κοκοδίων,† p. 457.
ὅτε ἐνυπνιάζεται ἀδελφός, p. 459.
ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφέρουσιν ἀμνόν, p. 462.
εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι ἐκ λαϊκοῦ κληρικόν, p. 462.
εἰς οἶκον, p. 464.; altera, p. 465.
ἐπὶ ἐνεργουμένων ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, p. 465.

41. Ἀκολουθία‡ *ἤγουν διακονικὰ καὶ εὐχαὶ τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος*, p. 466—488.
42. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ οἰκίας περιεργασμένης ἢ ἄλλως πῶς ὀχλουμένης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν*, p. 488—492.
43. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μελλούσης λαμβάνειν σχῆμα μοναστρίας*, p. 492—502.
44. *εὐχαὶ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος*, p. 502—509.; *εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας*, p. 509.
45. *εἰς τὸ ἀναδήσασθαι γυναῖκα*, p. 510—512.§
46. *εὐχαὶ ὀπισθάμβωνος*, p. 512—527.
47. *διακονία τῶν προηγιασμένων*, p. 527—530.
Vacua folia, p. 531—535.
48. Fragmentum ex Constitutionibus Apostolorum de ordinationibus, p. 536—562.

* Cod.: ϵοϲ pro *νέον*. V. Goar. p. 522.

† *εὐχὴ τῶν κολύβων ἤγουν τῶν κουκουδίων*, i. e. favarum pro pauperibus in mortuorum commemorationibus coctarum (v. Goar. l. l.), qui antiquorum Romanorum mos erat in festo manibus placandis celebrato, Ovidio teste in Fastis: unde ad hunc usque diem Romæ in festo mortuorum (2. Nov.) favæ, aut potius liba mellita in favarum speciem confecta, publice venditantur. Pythagoreorum de favis non edendis præceptum ad eundem morem Italicum spectat.

‡ Cod.: *ἀκολουθεία*.

§ Cod.: *ἀναδύσασθαι* V. Goar. p. 309. Est oratio ad velandum et exornandum mulieris caput, secundum præceptum Apostoli.

S. BASILII ET S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI LITURGIÆ,

COLLATÆ SECUNDUM TEXTUM CODICIS BARBERINI SECULI OCTAVI,

CUJUS LACUNA SUPPLETUR.

(*Oratio Præparationis a Sacerdote facta in sacello.*)

Liturgia S. Basilii.

Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ ἀποτιθεμένου τοῦ ἄρτου ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ.

1. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον τὴν τροφὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐξαποστείλας σωτῆρα καὶ λυτρωτὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην, εὐλογοῦντα καὶ ἁγιάζοντα ἡμᾶς· αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιόν σου θυσιαστήριον· μνημόνευσον ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τῶν προσενεγκάντων καὶ δι' οὓς προσήγαγον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτους διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ τῶν θείων σου μυστηρίων· ὅτι ἡγίασται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου πατρός.

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

I. (ιε Codicis.)

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ προθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς· ἔφιδε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· καὶ ποίησον αὐτὸ ἄχραντόν σου σῶμα καὶ τίμιόν σου αἷμα, εἰς μετάληψιν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων·

ὅτι ἡγίασται καὶ δεδόξασται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου πατρός.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

(I. Introitus Sacerdotis.)

Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου πρώτου.

(Collecta pro misericordia super præsentes.)

Η. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀνείκαστον καὶ ἡ δόξα ἀκατάληπτος, οὗ τὸ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἄφατος· αὐτὸς δέσποτα κατὰ τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν σου ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον τοῦτον, καὶ ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν συνοικομένων ἡμῖν πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου. Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τοῦ πατρός, κ. τ. λ.

Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου δευτέρου.

(Collecta pro salvatione populi Dei et glorificatione ecclesiæ.)

ΗΙ. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαφύλαξον, ἁγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ οἴκου σου. Σὺ αὐτὸς ἀντιδόξασον τῇ θείᾳ σου δυνάμει καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σοί· Ἐκφών. ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις, κ. τ. λ.

Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου τρίτου.

(Collecta finalis, ut exaudiat Deus orationes, et pro cognitione veritatis vitaque æterna.)*

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* Nobilissima oratio quæ vulgo Chrysostomo tribuitur.

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IV. Ὁ τὰς κοινὰς ταύτας καὶ συμφώνας ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος προσευχὰς, ὁ καὶ δύο καὶ τρισὶ συμφωνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου τὰς αἰτήσεις παρέχειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν τῶν δούλων σου τὰ αἰτήματα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον πλήρωσον, χορηγῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ζωὴν αἰώνιον χαριζόμενος· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν.*

(II. Introitus Evangelii.)

Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου.

(Collecta introitus evangelii, ut adstent angeli orationi et laudi.)

V. Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταστήσας ἐν οὐρανοῖς τάγματα καὶ στρατιὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων πρὸς λειτουργίαν τῆς σῆς δόξης· ποίησον σὺν τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἡμῶν εἴσοδον ἁγίων ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι, συλλειτουργούντων ἡμῖν καὶ συνδοξολογούντων τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα. Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ πατρί, κ.

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II. (Codicis ιϛ.)

Εὐεργέτα καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης δημιουργὲ, πρόσδεξαι προσιοῦσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ σύμφορον ἐκπλήρωσον, καὶ ἄγαγε πάντας εἰς τελειότητα καὶ ἀξίους ἡμᾶς ἀπέργασαι τῆς βασιλείας σου. Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

* Hic lectiones e sacra scriptura solemniter et eo quidem ordine fiebant, ut primum *Lectio prophetica* proferretur (teste Chrysostomo pluribus in locis quos vide apud Bingh.), deinde *Epistola*, tunc *Evangelium*, quo annunciato populus exsurgens exclamabat: Δόξα σοι κύριε (Homil. lii.). Vide inter alia locum ex Homil. xix. in Acta App.: κοινὸς διάκονος ἕστηκεν, μέγα βοῶν καὶ λέγων· Προσχωμεν· καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις . . . μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαίου . . . εἶτα εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκφωνεῖ λέγων· Τάδε λέγει Κύριος. (Opp. t. ix. p. 159, 160. ed. Benedict. Paris.)

Liturgia S. Basilii.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου.

VI. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, ὁ τρισαγίᾳ φωνῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ἀνυμνούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Χερουβὶμ δοξολογούμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως προσκυνούμενος, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παράγαγὼν τὰ σύμπαντα, ὁ κτίσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ παντί σου χαρίσματι κατακοσμήσας, καὶ† δίδους αἰτοῦντι σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν, καὶ μὴ παρορῶν ἁμαρτάνοντα, ἀλλὰ θέμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ μετάνοιαν· ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ στῆναι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην σοι προσκύνησιν καὶ δοξολογίαν προσάγειν. Αὐτὸς δέσποτα πρόσδεξαι § καὶ ἐκ στόματος ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου· συγχώρησον ἡμῖν πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον ¶· ἁγία-

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Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου.

III. (Cod. ιζ.)

(Oratio hymni ter sancti, pro remissione peccatorum, et ut benigne accipiat sacrificium nostrum.)

* Ἅγιε ἁγίων, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, ἅγιος ὑπάρχεις ὁ τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον δόξαν ἐν αὐτῷ κεκτημένος· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα συστησάμενος· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ὃν τὰ τετράμορφα ζῶα ἀκαταπαύστῳ φωνῇ δοξάζουσι· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ἄφραστα ‡ τρεμόντων προσκυνούμενος καὶ δοξολογούμενος· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τοῖς πολυόμμασι Χερουβὶμ τῇ ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ τῷ ἀκοιμήτῳ ὄμματι ἐπιβλέπων καὶ ἐπικλίνων τὸ οὖς σου. ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τοῖς ἐξαπτερύγοις Σεραφὶμ ἐποχούμενος, καὶ κροτούντων τὰς ἑαυτῶν πτέρυγας καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ὑμνούντων τὸ ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαὼθ ὁ προσδεχόμενος. ἅγιος γὰρ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὃν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ κυριότητες‖ ἐν οὐρανῷ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄνθρωποι ἀνυμνοῦσι‡ καὶ σέβουσιν. Αὐτὸς, φιλάνθρωπε, πρόσ-

* Deest in vulg. ubi hic oratio Lit. Basil. repetitur. † Vulg. ὁ.

‡ Cod.: Ἀωρασια, vox lexicis ignota. Ἀορασία idem quod "cæcitas" significat. Ἄφραστα sunt ineffabilia.

§ Addidi ex vulgato verbum πρόσδεξαι.

‖ Cod.: ἐξουσίαι κυριότητος: cf. Eph. i. 21.; Col. i. 16.

‡ Cod.: ἀνυμνοῦσιν.

¶ Hæc fere verba: Συγχώρησον ἡμῖν πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν

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σον ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ὁσιότητι λατρεύειν σοι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν· Πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἅγιος εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

Εὐχὴ τῆς ἄνω καθέδρας.

(Oratio, accessus ad cathedram.)
(Cod. I. 2.)†

VII. Δέσποτα κύριε, Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτὸν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, διὰ τοῦ τύπου τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς

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δεξαι καὶ ἐκ στόματος ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον * προσφερόμενον παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· καὶ κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου· Πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἐπαναπαύῃ καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

Εὐχὴ τῆς καθέδρας τοῦ Θυσιαστηρίου.

(*Eadem ut apud Sanctum Basilium*; unde igitur deprompta sunt nec propria. Deest in Vulgata Sancti Chrysostomi.)

τε καὶ ἀκούσιον, a Chrysostomo tamquam liturgiæ communis verba laudantur loco memorabili Homiliæ xvii. in Ep. ad Hebr. (apud Bingh.): ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἧς ἀναφέρομεν, προφέρομεν καὶ ἁμαρτήματα λέγοντες· εἴτε ἑκόντες εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτομεν συγχώρησον. τοῦτ' ἔστι, μεμνήμεθα αὐτῶν πρῶτον καὶ τότε τὴν συγχώρησιν αἰτοῦμεν. Quæ igitur verba solemnia a Chrysostomo tamquam vox ejus ecclesiæ in qua sacerdotio vel episcopatu fungebatur memorantur, non inveniuntur in ea liturgia quæ summi illius viri nomen præ se fert. Nam in vulgato, admisso et proprio ecclesiarum Orientis, textu reperiuntur quidem, sed desumta e Basilii liturgia; in ea vero oratione quam hoc loco optimus codex tamquam Chrysostomi propriam exhibet verba illa non occurrunt. At quis crediderit Chrysostomum, si revera ordinem officii composuisset, mutasse eum quem invenerat, quem adornare firmiusque constituere, minime vero abolere potuit, nec si potuisset voluerit?

* Hæc verbo tenus cum Basilii oratione concordant.

† Episcopus ad cathedram (θρόνον) accedens Pacem dabat verbis illis solemnibus Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, populo respondente: καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου, ut docet ipse Chrysostomus ap. Bingh. Homil. xxxix.

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εἶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενῆς τοῦ Κύριε ἐλέησον.

VIII. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενῆν ταύτην ἱκεσίαν πρόσδεξαι παρὰ τῶν σῶν δούλων καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου, καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου κατάπεμψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου τὸν ἀπεκδεχόμενον τὸ παρὰ σοῦ πλούσιον ἔλεος· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

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Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενῆς (Litaniæ *) (Cod. ιθ.)

Eadem ut apud Sanctum Basilium (ut ea quæ præcedit deprompta, non propria).

* Litania a fidelibus et a catechumenis solemniter peracta, tres illæ fiebant quas hoc loco memorat ipse Chrysostomus (Homil. lxxiii. ap. Bingh.) orationes: prima pro energumenis, secunda pro pœnitentibus, tertia pro fidelibus, quam ultimam pueri puellæque ecclesiæ proferebant una precantes et Dei misericordiam pro peccatis invocantes. Verba hæc sunt: Ἡ πρώτη δέησις ἐλέους γέμει, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων παρακαλοῦμεν· καὶ ἡ δευτέρα πάλιν ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πολὺ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπιζητοῦσα· καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδία τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατεγνώκαμεν ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότων καὶ ἐγκληθῆναι ὀφειλόντων αὐτοὶ βοῶμεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ παῖδες, ὧν τῆς ἁπλότητος τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μένει.

Conjunctas fuisse cum precibus pro catechumenis litanias (τὰ εἰρηνικά, ita indicente Diacono: "τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε, Chrys. ap. Bingh. Homil. lv. xxxviii.) probat illustris ipsius Chrysostomi locus ap. Bingh. Homil. lxxvii.: Διὰ τοῦτο . . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων κοιναὶ ποιούμεθα τὰς εὐχὰς, λιτανεύοντες ὑπὲρ νοσούντων, καὶ τῶν κάρπων τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.

Eandem seriem orationum alio loco ita describit Chrysostomus: Oratio pro energumenis, deinde Litania cum catechumenis, tum, remotis catechumenis, Oratio fidelium et Osculum pacis. Verba sunt hæc (Homil. xviii. apud Bingh.): Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνεισφέροντα· καὶ γὰρ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τοῦ ἐλέους γέμουσαν· ἐπειδὰν εἴρξωμεν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τοὺς οὐ δυνα-

Oratio Catechumenorum.

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Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων.

(Oratio catechumenorum.)

IX. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου· ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τοὺς κεκλικότας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν αὐχένας ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐλαφρὸν ζυγόν· ποίησον αὐτοὺς μέλη τίμια τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τοῦ λούτρου τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· εἰς ἐπίγνωσίν σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· Ἐκφών. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν ἡμῖν δοξάζωσι τὸ πάντιμον, κ. τ. λ.

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. IV. (Cod. κ.)

(Or. catechum. oblationi S. Chrysostomi præmissa.)

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ὁ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαποστείλας τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηχουμένους τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν αὐχένα· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λούτρου παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. ἕνωσον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ συγκατάρίθμησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ σοῦ ποίμνῃ· Ἐκφών. ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν

μένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετασχεῖν τραπέζης, ἑτέραν δὲ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα· ὅταν εἰρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δέῃ, πάντες ὁμοίως ἀσπαζόμεθα· ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικωδεστάτων μυστηρίων ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεύχεται καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ· τὸ γὰρ Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦτο. — De energumenis et precibus ab universo populo pro iis factis loci classici sunt in Homil. xxviii. et xxix. ap. Bingh. In hac legitur: τοὺς δαιμονιῶντας καὶ μανίᾳ πονηρᾷ κατεχομένους εἰσάγεσθαι κελεύει τότε ὁ διάκονος καὶ κλίνειν τὰς κεφαλὰς . . . ἵνα . . . κοιναὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκετηρίαι γένωνται πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν πάντων δεσπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτουμένων καὶ ἐλεῆσαι παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς βοῆς. De his ne verbum quidem in nostris liturgiis. Formulam dimittendi pœnitentes exhibet locus in Homil. iii. (Diaconus): ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέλθετε πάντες. Ibidem legas formulam qua diaconus ad communes preces faciendas populum exhortabatur: Δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ.

Liturgia S. Basilii.	Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.
ἡμῶν δοξάζωσιν τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές.*	

Missæ Fidelium Preces præparatoriæ.

Εὐχὴ πιστῶν πρώτη μετὰ τὸ ἁπλωθῆναι τὸ εἰλητόν.	Εὐχὴ πιστῶν πρώτη μετὰ τὸ ἁπλωθῆναι τὸ εἰλητόν. V. (Cod. κα.)
(Fidelium or. prima, post corporale expansum.)	(Fidelium or. prima.)
Χ. Σὺ κύριε κατέδειξας ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον· σὺ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ταπει-	Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι καὶ νῦν τῷ ἁγίῳ

* Chrysostomus in Hom. Secunda in 2 Corinth., Constantinopoli habita, hæc de oratione pro catechumenis a diacono indicta:

Diaconus. Στῶμεν καλῶς· δεηθῶμεν. (Catechumeni genua flectunt.)

Ἵνα ὁ πανελεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς ἐπακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν· ἵνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν· ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη· καὶ κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· ἵνα κατασπείρῃ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν· ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἵνα αὐτὸς δοίῃ νοῦν ἔνθεον, σώφρονον λογισμὸν, καὶ ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν, διὰ παντὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ νοεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ μελετᾷν, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι· ἔτι ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν, ἵνα ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀτόπου πράγματος, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος διαβολικοῦ, καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· ἵνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκετίας· τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἵνα αὐξήσας εὐλογήσῃ, καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγὼν σοφίσῃ· ἵνα κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

Catechumeni surgunt, diacono jubente, ut pro semetipsis precentur; ipse ita præit:

Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε οἱ κατηχούμενοι· εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα· εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε· χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη· ἑαυτοὺς ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι.

Prece in silentio secundum hanc exhortationem facta, capita inclinant ad accipiendam benedictionem sacerdotis, populo adclamante *Amen.*

Ceterum de Angelo Pacis, vide Binghamum docte et sapienter, ut solet, disserentem, lib. xiv. 5. 4.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

νοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου, γενέσθαι λειτουργοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου, σὺ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως στάντες ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου προσάγωμέν σοι θυσίαν αἰνέσεως. σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι· δὸς κύριε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων δεκτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐνώπιόν σου· Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρί, κ. τ. λ.

Εὐχὴ πιστῶν δευτέρα.

XI. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν, ὁ στήσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου κατενώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ. Σὺ ἐνίσχυσον ἡμᾶς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων προτίθεσθαι

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

σου θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. Πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ποίησον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἔθου εἰς τὴν διακονίαν σου ταύτην, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀπροσκόπως ἐν καθαρῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἡμῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ, ἵνα εἰσακούων ἡμᾶς ἵλεως ἡμῶν ἔσῃ * ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος· Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις.

Εὐχὴ πιστῶν δευτέρα.

VI. (Cod. κβ.)

Πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις σοὶ προσπίπτομεν καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπε, ὅπως ἐπιβλέψας ἐπὶ τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν καθαρίσῃς ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ δῷς † ἡμῖν ἀνένοχον καὶ ἀκατάκριτον τὴν παράστασιν τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου. Χάρισαι δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τοῖς συνοιχομένοις ἡμῖν προκοπὴν βίου καὶ πίστεως καὶ συνέσεως πνευματικῆς. δὸς αὐτοῖς πάντοτε μετὰ φόβου καὶ

* Cod.: ἔσει.

† Cod.: δῴης.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

ζώρων· Ἐκφών. ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους σου πάντοτε φυλαττόμενοι σοὶ δόξαν, κ.τ.λ.

Εὐχὴ, ἣν λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν Χερουβικῶν λεγομένων.

ΧΗ. Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος τῶν συνδεδεμένων ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς, προσέρχεσθαι ἢ προσεγγίζειν ἢ λειτουργεῖν σοι, βασιλεῦ τῆς δόξης· τὸ γὰρ διακονεῖν σοι μέγα καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον. Ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν ἀπρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιότως γέγονας ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ τῆς λειτουργικῆς ταύτης καὶ ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας τὴν ἱερουργίαν παρέδωκας ὡς δεσπότης τῶν ἁπάντων. Σὺ γὰρ δεσπόζεις τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων, ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου χερουβικοῦ ἐποχούμενος, ὁ τῶν Σεραφὶμ κύριος καὶ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. Σὲ δυσωπῶ τὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐήκοον, ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀχρεῖον δοῦλόν σου καὶ ἱκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χάριν παραστῆναι τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

ἀγαπῆς λατρεύοντάς σοι ἀνενόχως καὶ ἀκατακρίτως μετέχειν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι· Ἐκφών. ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους σου πάντοτε φυλαττόμενοι σοὶ δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, κ. τ. λ.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

ἄχραντόν σου σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα. σοὶ γὰρ κλίνω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ αὐχένα καὶ δέομαι σου, μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπον σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲ ἀποδοκιμάσῃς με ἐκ παίδων σου. ἀλλ' ἀξίωσον προσενεχθῆναί σοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ ὁ προσφερόμενος, καὶ ἁγιάζων καὶ ἁγιαζόμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, κ. τ. λ.

*Oratio oblationis.**

Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τῶν ᾀδόντων μυστικὸν ὕμνον.

XIII. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κτίσας ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν ὁδοὺς εἰς σωτηρίαν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν οὐρανίων μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν, σὺ εἶ ὁ θέμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου. Εὐδόκησον δὴ κύριε τοῦ γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς διακόνους τῆς καινῆς σου διαθήκης, λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων· πρόσδεξαι ἡμᾶς προσεγ-

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ καὶ πληρῶσαι τὸν λαὸν τὸν μυστικὸν ὕμνον.

VII. (Cod. κγ.)

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεων παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων, καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου τοῦ γε-

* Hæc oratio quæ proxime præcedit Eucharistiam vel Liturgiam propriam, in uno textu Basilii, in altero Chrysostomi esse dicitur, quo probatur reliqua non iisdem esse tribuenda.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

γίζοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου· ἵνα γενώμεθα ἄξιοι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. ἣν προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος. Ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν ταύτην καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτήν, ὡς προσεδέξω Ἄβελ τὰ δῶρα, Νῶε τὰς θυσίας, Ἀβραὰμ τὰς ὁλοκαρπώσεις, Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν τὰς ἱερωσύνας, Σαμουὴλ τὰς εἰρηνικάς· ὡς προσεδέξω ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων σου ἀποστόλων τὴν ἀληθινὴν ταύτην λατρείαν, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν πρόσδεξαι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου κύριε, ἵνα καταξιωθέντες λειτουργεῖν ἀμέμπτως τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ εὕρωμεν τὸν μισθὸν τῶν πιστῶν καὶ φρονίμων οἰκονόμων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεώς σου τῆς δικαίας· Ἐκφών. διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

νέσθαι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισκηνῶσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου· Ἐκφών. διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητός, κ. τ. λ.

(*Osculum Pacis.*)

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμὴν ὁ ἱερεύς·
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
ὁ λαός· Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

ὁ λαός· Ἀμήν.
ὁ ἱερεύς· Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
ὁ λαός· Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

ὁ διάκ. Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ δοθῆναι τὴν ἀγάπην, λέγει·

Τὰς Θύρας· τὰς Θύρας· πρόσχωμεν.

ὁ λαὸς τὸ Πιστεύω.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Πιστεύω λέγει ὁ διάκονος·

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ δοθῆναι τὴν ἀγάπην λέγει ὁ διάκονος·

Τὰς Θύρας· τὰς Θύρας. Πρόσχωμεν.

ὁ λαὸς τὸ πιστεύω λέγει.

ὁ διάκονος·

ANAPHORÆ SS. BASILII ET CHRYSOSTOMI.

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
ὁ διάκονος.	ὁ διάκονος·
Στῶμεν καλῶς.*	Στῶμεν καλῶς.
	ὁ λαός·
	Ἔλεος· εἰρήνη..
ὁ ἱερεύς·	ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει·
Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν.	Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν·
ὁ λαός·	ὁ λαός·
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.†	Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Præfatio.

ὁ ἱερεύς·	ὁ ἱερεύς.
Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.	Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.
ὁ λαός·	ὁ λαός.
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.	Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

* Στῶμεν καλῶς initium Liturgiæ s. Anaphoræ indicant nobilissima musei Fejervariani diptycha, seculi octavi, de quibus in Nota ad Prolegomena diximus. Ceterum solemnis quam laudat ipse Chrysostomus ecclesiæ formula (ex Homil. xxix. ap. Bingh.) est: Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς. Verba hæc sunt: Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρακελεύεσθαι τὸν διάκονον ἅπασι καὶ λέγειν· Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς, οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ εἰκῇ νενομοθέτηται.

† Chrysostomus apud Bingh., in Homil. xxxviii. (xli.): Τί ποιεῖς ἄνθρωπε; οὐχ ὑπέσχου τῷ ἱερεῖ εἰπόντι· Ἀνασχῶμεν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας· καὶ εἶπας· Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

ὁ ἱερεύς·

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.

ὁ λαός·

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

ὁ ἱερεύς.

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.

ὁ λαός·

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς.

Eucharistia s. Gratiarum Actio.

I. Ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα κύριε, Θεὲ πάτερ, παντόκρατορ, προσκυνητὲ, ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πρέπον τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν· καὶ σοὶ προσφέρειν ἐν καρδίᾳ συντετριμμένῃ καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ τίς ἱκανὸς λαλῆσαι τὰς δυναστείας σου, ἀκουστὰς ποιῆσαι πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου, ἢ διηγήσασθαι πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ; Δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων, κύριε οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης κτίσεως ὁρωμένης τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένης, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης καὶ ἐπιβλέπων ἀβύσσους,

I. Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου· σὺ γὰρ εἶ Θεὸς ἀνέκφραστος, ἀπερινόητος, ἀόρατος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὢν, ὡσαύτως ὢν, σὺ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγες καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν. Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ· ὑπὲρ πάντων, ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν σου τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης, ἣν ἐκ τῶν χει-

Anaphora S. Basilii.

ἄναρχε, ἀόρατε, ἀκατάληπτε, ἀπερίγραπτε, ἀναλλοίωτε, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, σφραγὶς ἰσότυπος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνὺς σὲ τὸν πατέρα, λόγος ζῶν, Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς πρὸ αἰώνων, σοφία, ζωὴ, ἁγιασμὸς, δύναμις, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν· παρ' οὗ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξεφάνη, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας πνεῦμα, τὸ τῆς υἱοθεσίας χάρισμα, ὁ ἀρραβὼν τῆς μελλούσης κληρονομίας, ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν, ἡ ζωοποιὸς δύναμις, ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, παρ' οὗ πᾶσα κτίσις λογικὴ τε καὶ νοερὰ δυναμουμένη σοὶ λατρεύει καὶ σοὶ τὴν ἀΐδιον ἀναπέμπει δοξολογίαν, ὅτι τὰ σύμπαντα δοῦλα σά. Σὲ γὰρ αἰνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαὶ, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις, καὶ τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ· σοὶ παρίστανται κύκλῳ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ κατακαλύπτουσιν τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς ποδὰς, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πετόμενα, κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι, ἀσυγήτοις θεολογίαις.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

ρῶν ἡμῶν δέξασθαι καταξίωσον, καίτοι σοι παρεστήκεισαν χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων, τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα, μετάρσια, πτερωτά·

(Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.)

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
(Ἐκφώνως.)	Ἐκφ. *τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα.**
Τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα βοῶντα κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα.	
Ὁ λαός·	
Ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαὼθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου·	
Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.	
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.	
Ὡσαννὰ ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.	
ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς λέγει·	*ὁ ἱερεὺς· μυστικῶς·*
II. *Μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακα-*	II. *Μετὰ τούτων καὶ ἡμεῖς*

* Hymnum triumphalem (*τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον*) a populo in eucharistiæ celebratione esse cantatum, multi Chrysostomi loci probant. Nos hic illum ex homilia in Ep. ad Ephesios a Binghamo inter alios adlatum exhibemus: *Ἐννόησον μετὰ τίνων ἵστηκας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν μυστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν Χερουβίμ, μετὰ τῶν Σεραφίμ . . . πῶς οὖν δυνήσῃ μετ' ἐκείνων λέγειν· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, εἰς ὕβριν τῷ στόματι κεχρημένος;*

Utar hac occasione ad pauca de nominibus antiquissimorum ecclesiæ hymnorum sacramentalium dicenda, quoniam ne a veteribus quidem scriptoribus accurate distincta esse videntur.

1. *Hymnus angelicus*, qui idem *Doxologia major* dicitur, est omnium antiquissimus Christianorum hymnus matutinus, verbis illis auspicatis incipiens quæ in Lucæ Evangelio angelis de nativitate Domini exultantibus tribuuntur: *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ·* de quo in volumine tertio pluribus egimus; ubi etiam diximus de Doxologia minore, Gloria Patri, etc.

2. *Hymnus seraphicus* (minus accurate dictus etiam *cherubicus*) est sacer ille seraphici chori cantus quem Jesaia propheta audivit:

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua.

Proclus, episcopus Constantinopolitanus et Theodosius junior, anno 446, hæc addidisse dicuntur:

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·

quæ verba agnoscit Concilium Chalcedonense in condemnatione Dioscori. Postquam ante lectionem epistolæ hæc verba sola cani consueverunt, a multis *Trisagion* nomine appellata sunt.

3. *Hymnum cherubicum* Græci scriptores *Alleluia* appellant, quod et mysticum dicitur (Apoc. xix.).

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ρίων δυνάμεων, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· Ἅγιος εἶ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πανάγιος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μέτρον τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου, καὶ ὅσιος ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις σου, ὅτι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρίσει ἀληθινῇ πάντα ἐπήγαγες ἡμῖν. Πλάσας γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ σῇ ὁ Θεὸς τιμήσας αὐτὸν τέθεικας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, ἀθανασίαν ζωῆς καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῇ τηρήσει τῶν ἐντολῶν σου ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ παρακούσαντά σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄφεως ὑπαχθέντα, νεκρωθεντα τε αὐτὸν τοῖς

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τῶν δυνάμεων, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον. ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἡ δόξα σου· ὃς τὸν κόσμον σου οὕτως ἠγάπησας, ὥστε τὸν σου υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ δοῦναι, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται, ἀλλ' ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

* Desunt igitur in liturgia quæ Chrysostomo tribuitur solemnia illa verba, quæ et in Antiochena leguntur et in ea quæ Basilii dicitur. At ipse Chrysostomus in Homilia xxiv. in primam ad Cor. Ep. eundem morem tamquam ecclesiis illis communem memorat. Verba hæc sunt (ap. Bingh.): καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες ποτηρίῳ τὰς ἀφάτους εὐεργεσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὅσων ἀπολελαύκαμεν οὕτως αὐτὸ προάγομεν καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες ὅτι τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ὅτι μακρὰν ὄντας ἐγγὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅτι ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντας καὶ ἀθέους ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατεσκεύασε καὶ συγκληρονόμους· ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦντες οὕτω πρόσιμεν. Eadem quidem verba in liturgiis quæ nobis servatæ sunt non occurrunt, at similia quædam. Quæ, ut multa alia, ecclesiam probant Chrysostomi tempore multa liturgica (quod ad verba attinet) sacerdoti vel episcopo libere precanti demandasse, ita tamen ut ordo et tenor generalis orationis traditioni et mori ecclesiæ consentaneus esset. Confer cum his verba Basilii fronti hujus capituli inscripta de iis, quæ tantummodo traditione ad nos pervenerunt.

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οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ παραπτώμασιν ἐξώρισας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ σου ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον καὶ ἀπέστρεψας εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη, οἰκονομῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπεστράφης τὸ πλάσμα σου εἰς τέλος, ὁ ἐποίησας, ἀγαθὲ, οὐδὲ ἐπελάθου ἔργων χειρῶν σου, ἀλλ' ἐπεσκέψω πολυτρόπως διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους σου, προφήτας ἐξαπέστειλας, ἐποίησας δυνάμεις διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν εὐαρεστησάντων σοι· ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν διὰ στόματος τῶν δούλων σου τῶν προφητῶν, προκαταγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι σωτηρίαν· νόμον ἔδωκας εἰς βοήθειαν, ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησας φύλακας. Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν, ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ υἱῷ σου, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησας, ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεώς σου, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί· ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀμβρώποις συναν-

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Anaphora S. Basilii.

εστράφη, καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας σαρκωθεὶς ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν, σύμμορφος γενόμενος τῷ σώματι τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς συμμόρφους ποιήσῃ τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, εὐδόκησεν ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις σου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικὸς, τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, κατακρῖναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθνήσκοντες ζωοποιηθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου· καὶ ἐμπολιτευσάμενος τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, δοὺς προστάγματα σωτηρίας, ἀποστήσας ἡμᾶς τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων, προσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπιγνώσει σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, κτησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον· καὶ καθαρίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ἁγιάσας τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντάλλαγμα τῷ θανάτῳ, ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰς

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τὸν Ἅιδην, ἵνα πληρώσῃ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἔλυσε τὰς ὀδύνας τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ ἀναστὰς τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁδοιποιήσας πάσῃ σαρκὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ἐγένετο ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἵνα ᾖ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύων· καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς· ὃς καὶ ἥξει ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Κατέλιπεν δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους ταῦτα ἃ προτεθείκαμεν* κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

(*Verba institutionis.*)

Μέλλων γὰρ ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἑκούσιον καὶ ἀοίδιμον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον, τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράν-

Ὃς ἐλθὼν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσας τῇ νυκτὶ, ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ ἀμωμήτοις χερσὶν, εὐχαριστήσας καὶ

* Hæc est ultima vox folii xvi. Deest quaternio tertius foliorum viii., quæ si secundum literarum numerum, qui primo et secundo quaternione continetur, computantur, circiter ix. milia literarum comprehenderunt. Quæ in vulgato textu sequuntur usque ad prima quarti nostri quaternionis verba, omissis solitis interpolationibus, ad amussim hunc literarum numerum præbent. Textus deperditus nostri codicis hac ratione quodammodo videtur restitutus esse.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

των χειρῶν, ἀναδείξας σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας; (Ἐκφών.) ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπών· Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου λαβὼν κεράσας, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογεῖτε.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών·

Ἐκφών. Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων·

Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

ὁ λαός·

Ἀμήν.

(*Oratio Memores igitur.*)

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Μεμνημένοι οὖν, δέσποτα, καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν σωτηρίων σου παθημάτων, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, τῆς τριημέρου ταφῆς, τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνόδου, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καθέ-

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦ τάφου, τῆς τριημέρου ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐράνους ἀναβάσεως, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας, τῆς δευτέρας καὶ

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δρας, καὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς σαυτοῦ* παρουσίας.

Ἐκφών. Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες, κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα.

Ὁ χορὸς ψάλλει τὸ Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, κύριε.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

ἐνδόξου παλινπαρουσίας.

Ἐκφών.

τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα·

ὁ λαός·

Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν.

(*Invocatio Spiritus Sancti.*)

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Διὰ τοῦτο, δέσποτα πανάγιε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀνάξιοι δοῦλοί σου, οἱ καταξιωθέντες λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σού θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐ διὰ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἡμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσαμέν τι ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου οὓς ἐξέχεας πλουσίως ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σοῦ θυσιαστηρίῳ· καὶ προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, ἅγιε ἁγίων, εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιάσαι, καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι τὸν μὲν ἄρτον

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς λέγει·

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν· κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα·

(καὶ ἀνιστάμενος σφραγίζει λέγων μυστικῶς)

* Cod. inepte: αὐτοῦ.

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τοῦτον [ποίησον αὐτὸ]* τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο, αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.

Ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας, τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου μετέχοντας, ἑνώσαις ἀλλήλοις εἰς ἑνὸς πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα ποιήσαις μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· ἀλλ' ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἔλεος καὶ χάριν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων προπατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, διδασκάλων, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου, ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου.

Ἐκφών. Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερευλογημένης ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου προ-

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καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτο τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,

μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ. Ἀμήν.

τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,

μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, εἰς βασιλείας πλήρωμα, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς σὲ, μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων πατερῶν, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐγκρατικῶν καὶ παντὸς δικαίου ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου.

Ἐκφών. Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερενδόξου εὐλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ

* Verba uncis inclusa contra sententiarum ordinem huc transposita sunt ex formula quæ Chrysostomi nomine insignitur.

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φήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ, τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός.

† Καὶ μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς, ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.

Ἔτι σοῦ δεόμεθα, μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτὴν ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον τοῦτον στερέωσον μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν τὰ δῶρά σοι ταῦτα προσκομισάντων, καὶ

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Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, [καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τρῦδε, οὗ καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν,]* καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐν ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς, ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.

* Verba posteriori ætate ex festo sancti cujusdam in liturgiam generalem illata.

† De his Commemorationibus, quas Jacobus Edessenus appellat Admonitiones, illustria exstant Chrysostomi testimonia, quæ Binghamus collegit: v. imprimis Homil. xli. in priorem Ep. ad Corinthios: οὐδὲ μάτην ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελούντων. . . . διὰ τοῦτο θαῤῥοῦντες ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεόμεθα τότε, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς καλοῦμεν, μετὰ ὁμολογητῶν μετὰ ἱέρων· καὶ γὰρ ἓν σῶμα ἐσμὲν ἅπαντες κἂν λαμπρότερα μέλη μέλων. Et in Homilia ii. in alteram Ep. ad Cor. hæc Chrysostomus dicit: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρατούντων, ὑπὲρ τῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ ἀέρων, ὑπὲρ γῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης καλεύμεθα προσιέναι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ.

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ὑπὲρ ὧν, καὶ δι' ὧν, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὰ προσεκόμισαν.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις σου ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ μεμνημένων τῶν πενήτων· ἄμειψαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς πλουσίοις σου καὶ ἐπουρανίοις χαρίσμασιν. Χάρισαι αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια· ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια· ἀντὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ σεμνῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγόντων.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων, καὶ πιστοτάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, οὓς ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπλῳ ἀληθείας, ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας στεφάνωσον αὐτοὺς, ἐπισκίασον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου, ἐνίσχυσον αὐτῶν τὸν βραχίονα, ὕψωσον τὴν δεξιὰν, κράτυνον αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν, ὑπόταξον αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα. Χάρισαι. αὐτοῖς βαθεῖαν καὶ ἀναφαίρετον εἰρήνην, λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν

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ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· ἵνα ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου· τοὺς ἀγαθούς ἐν τῇ ἀγαθότητί σου διατήρησον· τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀγαθοὺς ποίησον ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου.*

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τοῦ προεστῶτος λαοῦ καὶ τῶν δι' εὐλόγους αἰτίας ἀπολειφθέντων, καὶ ἐλέησον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σοῦ. Τὰ ταμεῖα αὐτῶν ἔμπλησον παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, τὰς συζυγίας αὐτῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ διατήρησον, τὰ νήπια ἔκθρεψον, τὴν νεότητα παιδαγώγησον, τὸ γῆρας περικράτησον, τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους παραμύθησον, τοὺς ἐσκοπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, τοὺς πεπλανημένους ἐπανάγαγε, καὶ σύναψον τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ ἐκ-

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* Verba laudata a Petro Diacono (Renaud. i. p. xxxviii.) ad Fulgentium (in Opp. Fulgent.) c. ann. 520.

Hinc etiam beatus Basilius episcopus Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, qua pene universus utitur oriens, inter cætera:

"Dona, Domine, virtutem et tutamentum, *malos quæsumus bonos facito, bonos in bonitate conserva:* omnia enim potes nec est qui contradicat tibi: (quem) enim volueris salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ."

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κλησίᾳ τοὺς ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐλευθέρωσον, τοῖς πλέουσι σύμπλευσον, τοῦ ὁδοιποροῦσι συνόδευσον, χηρῶν πρόστηθι, ὀρφανῶν ὑπεράσπισον, αἰχμαλώτους ῥῦσαι, νοσοῦντας ἴασαι. Τῶν ἐν βήματι καὶ ἐξορίαις καὶ πάσῃ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ περιστάσει ὄντων, μνημόνευσον ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πάντων τῶν δεομένων τῆς μεγάλης σου εὐσπλαγχνίας, καὶ τῶν ἀγαπώντων ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῶν μισούντων, καὶ τῶν ἐντειλαμένων ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀναξίοις εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου μνήσθητι, κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἔκχεον τὸ πλούσιόν σου ἔλεος, πᾶσι παρέχων τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα, καὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐμνημονεύσαμεν δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ λήθην ἢ πλῆθος ὀνομάτων αὐτὸς μνημόνευσον ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ εἰδὼς ἑκάστου τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν, ὁ εἰδὼς ἕκαστον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Σὺ γαρ εἶ, κύριε, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ὁ τῶν χειμαζωμένων σωτὴρ, ὁ τῶν πλεόντων λιμὴν, ὁ τῶν νοσούντων ἰατρός. αὐτὸς τοῖς πᾶσι τὰ πάντα γενοῦ, ὁ εἰδὼς ἕκαστον, καὶ τὰ αἰτήματα αὐτοῦ, οἶκον, καὶ τὴν χρείαν

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αὐτοῦ. ῥῦσαι, κύριε, τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν ἀπὸ λιμοῦ, λοιμοῦ, σεισμοῦ, καταποντισμοῦ, πυρὸς, μαχαίρας, ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξων, τῶν *ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναξιότητος, χώρησόν μοι πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἁμαρτίας κωλύσης τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν καταισχύνῃς τῶν κυκλούντων τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον· ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου, κύριε, ἐπιφάνηθι ἡμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις σου οἰκτιρμοῖς· εὐκράτους καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς τοὺς ἀέρας ἡμῖν χάρισαι, ὀμβροὺς εἰρηνικοὺς τῇ γῇ πρὸς καρποφορίαν δώρησαι· εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρη-

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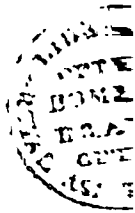

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε μνήσθητι, κύριε, πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξων τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας, παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος. * Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σεμνῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγόντων· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ὄρεσιν καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς· ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλέων, τῆς φιλοχρίστου βασιλίσσης, παντὸς τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦ αὐτῶν· δὸς αὐτοῖς, κύριε, εἰρηνικὸν τὸ βασίλειον, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ παροικοῦμεν, καὶ πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ τῶν

* Incipit novus codicis Barberini quaternio post ὀρθοτο syllabis μούντων.

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στότητός σου, κύριε· παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, σβέσον τὰ φρυάγματα των ἐθνῶν· τὰς τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπαναστάσεις κατάλυσον ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος· πάντας ἡμᾶς πρόσδεξαι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν φωτὸς, καὶ υἱοὺς ἡμέρας ἀναδείξας ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγαπὴν χάρισαι, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· πάντα γὰρ ἀπέδωκας ἡμῖν·

Ἐκφών. καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ δοξάζειν καὶ ἀνυμνεῖν τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ὁ λαός· Ἀμήν.

ὁ ἱερεύς· καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησου Χριστοῦ μετα πάντων ὑμῶν.

ὁ λαός· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου·

καὶ τοῦ διακόνου ποιοῦντος τὴν μέσην* εὐχὴν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς·

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ἐν πίστει κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ἐκφών. ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι, κύριε, τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν τοῦδε.

Μνήθητι, κύριε, πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, νοσούντων, καμνόντων, αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις σου ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ μεμνημένων τῶν πενήτων, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐλέη σου ἀπόστειλον. Καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ δοξάζειν καὶ (cetera supplenda ex Basilio usque ad εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων).

Ἐκφών.

καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ὁ διάκον. Πάντων τῶν ἁγίων (μνημονεύοντες· quod supplendum est ex vulgata. Est initium litaniæ a diacono indicendæ.)

* Cod. MECI. μέση εὐχὴ solemnis est litaniæ hoc loco insertæ appellatio apud Byzantinos, secundum Goarum.

Anaphora S. Basilii. Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Oratio consecrationis populi cum oratione dominica et obsignatione (benedictione) populi prostrati.

Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν, σὺ ἡμᾶς δίδαξον εὐχαριστεῖν σοι ἀξίως τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν σου, ὧν ἐποίησας καὶ ποιεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν· σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ προσδεξάμενος τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα· καθάρισον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ δίδαξον ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελεῖν ἁγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ σου, ἵνα ἐν καθαρῷ τῷ μαρτυριῳ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἡμῶν ὑποδεχόμενοι τὴν μερίδα τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου ἑνωθῶμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σώματι καὶ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὰ ἀξίως σχῶμεν τον Χριστὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν καὶ γενώμεθα ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος. Ναὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ἔνοχον ποιήσῃς τῶν φρικτῶν σου τούτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων μυστηρίων, μηδὲ ἀσθενῆ ψυχῃ καὶ σώματι ἐξ του ἀναξίως αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ δὸς ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμῶν ἀναπνοῆς, ἀξίως ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ

Σοὶ παρακατατεθήμεθα τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἁπᾶσαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν· καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων ταύτης τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ πνευματικῆς τραπέζης μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς συγχώρησιν πλημμελημάτων, εἰς πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν,

εἰς βασιλείας οὐράνων κληρονομίαν, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρός σε, μὴ εἰς κρίμα μηδὲ εἰς κατάκριμα.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

σου, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰώνων σοὶ εὐαρεστησάντων γενώμεθα μέτοχοί τῶν αἰωνίων σου ἀγαθῶν ὧν ἡτοίμασας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσίν σε, κύριε, καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς, δέσποτα, μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀκατακρίτως τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε τὸν ἐπουράνιον Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ λέγειν·*

ὁ λαός· τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν.

ὁ ἱερεύς· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρός.†

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμὴν λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς.

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Δέσποτα κύριε, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς εὐλόγησον, ἁγίασον, φρούρησον, ὀχύρωσον, ἐνδυνάμωσον, ἀπὸ

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς (cetera supple ex Basilio).

ὁ λαός· Πάτερ ἡμῶν.

ὁ ἱερευς· Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, κ.τ.λ.

ὁ λαός. Ἀμήν.

ὁ ἱερεύς· Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

ὁ διάκ. Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν.

Εὐχαριστουμέν σοι, βασιλεῦ ἀόρατε, ὁ τῇ ἀμετρήτῳ σου δυνάμει δημιουργήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ἐλέους σου ἐκ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν τὰ σύμπαντα. Αὐτὸς

* De oratione dominica in hoc loco eucharistiæ celebrandæ adhibita innumera sunt, ut aliorum, ita Chrysostomi testimonia. En unum pro omnibus ex Homilia xxvii. in Genesin: *ἀν τοῦτο κατορθώσωμεν, δυνησόμεθα μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ φρικτῇ τραπέζῃ προσέλθειν καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῇ εὐχῇ συνεζευγμένα μετὰ παῤῥησίας φθέγξασθαι· ἴσασι οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον.*

† Omissa h. l. verba, omnibus nimirum nota: *εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, cujus formulæ tamquam solemnis in eucharistiæ celebratione mentionem jam faciunt scriptores Valentiniani quos adfert Irenæus (i. 1.): *λέγουσι . . . ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας· Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* (V. Bingham. vi. 2. 1.) Illi quidem ideo hanc formulam invocabant, ut doctrinam de æonibus defenderent et inculcarent.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ ἀπόστησον, παντὶ δὲ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ σύναψον, καὶ καταξίωσον ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων τούτων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν.

Πρόσχες, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς, ὁ ἄνω τῷ πατρὶ συγκαθεζόμενος, καὶ ὧδε ἡμῖν ἀοράτως παρὼν, καὶ καταξίωσον τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

δέσποτα οὐρανοθὲν ἔφιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκλικότας σοὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλάς· οὐ γὰρ ἔκλιναν σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ τῷ φοβερῷ Θεῷ· σὺ οὖν δέσποτα τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομάλισον κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν. Τοῖς πλέουσιν σύμπλευσον, τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν συνόδευσον, τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἴασαι, ὁ ἰατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν.

Ὁ ἱερεύς· Πρόσχες, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ ἄνω τῷ πατρὶ συγκαθεζόμενος καὶ ὧδε ἡμῖν ἀόρατος συνὼν, καταξίωσον τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου.

(*Communio.*)

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν· Τὸν δίσκον πρόσχωμεν*, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑψοῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον καὶ λέγει· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.† Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν

ὁ διάκ. Πρόσχωμεν.

ὁ ἱερεύς· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

ὁ λαός· Εἷς ἅγιος.

* Πρόσχωμεν notissima est Diaconi formula. Chrysostomus ante communionem aliam Diaconi exhortationem laudat: Ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους (in Homilia adv. Judæos prima).

† De usu formulæ Τὰ ἅγια ἁγίοις clarissimi sunt Chrysostomi loci apud Binghamum. In Homil. vii. tomi septimi: τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις δίδωσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν παρέχει τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' αἷμα ζῶν. In Homil. xvii. in Ep. ad Hebr.: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιφωνεῖ τότε τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης μωμοσκοπῶν ἅπαντας, ὥστε μὴ προσελθεῖν τινα

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τὸν λαὸν τὸ Εἷς ἅγιος·* λαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μερίδας καὶ βάλλει εἰς τὰ ἅγια ποτήρια καὶ λέγει·

Εἷς πλήρωμα πνεύματος.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν λεγοντος τοῦ διακόνου τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς·

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν λαὸν τὸ Εἷς ἅγιος εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μερίδας καὶ βάλλει εἰς τὰ ἅγια ποτήρια καὶ λέγει·

Εἷς πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου.†

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν λεγοντος τοῦ διακόνου τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς.

(*Postcommunio.*)

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων ἀχράντων ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων, ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ ἰάσει τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων. Αὐτὸς δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων δὸς γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν σοφίας, εἰς ἴασιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς ἀπο-

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, εὐεργέτα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου καὶ ἀθανάτων μυστηρίων. Ὀρθοτόμησον ἡμῶν τὸν ὁδὸν, σῶσον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ φόβῳ σου τοὺς πάντας φρούρησον ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν, ἀσφάλισαι ἡμῶν τὰ διαβήματα εὐχαῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰώνων σοὶ εὐαρεστησάντων.

ἀπαράσκευον. In Homil. cxxiii. a Savilio edita optime hunc actum ita describit: Ὑψηλὸς ἑστὼς ὁ ἱερεὺς μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, φρικτῇ τῇ βοῇ, καθάπερ τις κήρυξ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων εἰς ὕψος, πᾶσι κατάδηλος γεγονὼς, καὶ μέγα ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀνακράζων· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπείργει.

* Εἷς ἅγιος· formulam plenam supra, cum de hymno seraphico agebamus, exhibui et explicui. De varia hujus hymni (qui ex hymni matutini clausula originem ducit) forma v. quæ ad Liturgiam ecclesiæ Antiochenæ adnotavimus.

† Quæ sequuntur usque ad finem posterioris esse ætatis, et ipsa verba et ceterarum liturgiarum consensus demonstrat.

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προπὴν παντὸς ἐνιαυτίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν. εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.

Ἐκφών. ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεί.

ὁ διάκονος· Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.*

(Preces Sacerdotis privatæ post dimissionem populi.)

Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος.

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου· τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαφύλαξόν· ἁγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ οἴκου σου. Σὺ αὐτοὺς ἀντιδόξασον τῇ θείᾳ δυνάμει, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σου. Εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ σου δώρησαι, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σου, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου· ὅτι ἅγιος ὁ ναός σου, θαυμαστὸς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου.

Ἤνυσται καὶ τετέλεσται, ὅσον

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Ἐκφών. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ὁ λαός· ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

ὁ διάκονος· ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.

Deest.

* De solemni formula dimissionis, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, agit Chrysostomus ap. Bingh. in Homil. lv. vol. quinti, his verbis: τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐπιλύων ὑμᾶς (ὁ διάκονος) τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπεύχεται λέγων· Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

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εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν, πάντα ἅπερ ἔθου ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας μυστήρια· ηὔραμεν τοῦ θανάτου σου τὴν μνήμην, εἴδαμεν* τῆς ἀναστάσεώς σου τὸν τύπον, ἐνεπλήσθημεν τῆς ἀκενώτου σου τρυφῆς, ἀπηλαύσαμεν τῆς ἀτελευτήτου σου ζωῆς, ἧς καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι πάντας ἡμᾶς τυχεῖν καταξίωσον, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα εὐχαριστία σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Deest.

* Formas barbaras ηὔραμεν et εἴδαμεν quas codex præbet removendas non putavi: textus vulgatus ἔχομεν et εἴδομεν exhibet. Additamenta hæc infimæ ætati liturgicæ debentur, septimo scilicet vel octavo seculo. Huic tempori optime conveniunt et illæ formæ grammaticæ et tenor omnino harum precum. Oratio ad Christum dirigitur, quod et mori et ipsis ecclesiæ legibus in eucharistia celebranda repugnat. Propositum fuit nobis ut codicum omnium Græcorum qui exstent longe antiquissimum lectoribus proponeremus, ita tamen ut quæ in duabus liturgiis inter se comparatis evidenter quinto seculo essent posteriora ab illa quarti quintive seculi liturgia distinguerentur, quo facilius sit intelligendum, quid antiquiori ecclesiæ quid serioribus temporibus sit tribuendum. Qui vero textum ita constitutum accuratius examinaverit, facile intelliget illas liturgias nihil nisi duo ejusdem typi exemplaria, et neutram a Basilio vel Chrysostomo esse compositam.

CAPUT QUARTUM.

LITURGIÆ ECCLESIÆ AFRICANÆ, MEDIOLANENSIS, GALLICANÆ, ET HISPANICÆ.

I. LITURGIA AFRICANA.

A. PATRUM DE LITURGIA TESTIMONIA.

I. TERTULLIANUS.

1. *In libro de Spectaculis* (quem scripsit tempore Septimii Severi, 193-211, antequam ad Montanistarum partes transisset, v. Neander. Tertull. p. 23.), c. 25, quæ vel ad Romanam vel ad Africanam ecclesiam spectant:

"Quale est . . . ex ore quo Amen in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος* alii omnino dicere nisi Deo et Christo?" (male vulg. Deo Christo).

2. *In Apologetico*, c. 30.:

"Illuc (in cœlum), suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis quia innoxiis, capite nudo quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore quia de pectore oramus. Precantes sumus semper omnes pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum et quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt."

Ibid. c. 39.:

"Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis."

3. *In libro de Corona Militis* (quem Montanista scripsit: v. Neand. Tert. p. 88.), c. 3.:

"Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus, die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die paschæ in pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur."

II. PERPETUA, MARTYR (C. ANNUM 220).

Passio Perpetuæ:

"Introivimus et audivimus (in visione) vocem unitam: Agios, Agios, Agios, sine cessatione."

III. CYPRIANUS.

De Orat. Domin. (v. Bingh. xiii. 5.):

"Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo: Sursum corda; ut dum respondet plebs: Habemus ad dominum, admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam dominum cogitare debere."

IV. FIRMILIANUS, EPIST. AD CYPRIANUM, C. 10.

De Muliere ecstatica temporibus post Alexandrum Imperatorem:

"Illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigias et fallacias dæmonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cætera quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut invocatione non contemtibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium domino non sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis offert."

V. AUGUSTINUS.

1. *Locus classicus de ordine officii est in Homil.* lxxxiii.:

"Tenetis sacramentum ordine suo. Primo post orationem (i. e. Litaniam vel preces communes pro universo

statu ecclesiæ) admonemini Sursum habere cor . . . . Ideo cum dicitur: Sursum cor, respondetis Habemus ad Dominum . . . Sequitur episcopus vel presbyter, qui offert, et dicit: Gratias agamus domino Deo nostro, et vos attestamini: Dignum et justum est dicentes. Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus orationem dominicam. Post istam dicitur: Dominus vobiscum, et osculantur se Christiani osculo sancto."

2. *De oratione dominica et precum orationumque natura.* Ibid.

"Post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus orationem dominicam."

Et in *Ep.* lix. *ad Paulin.* officii ordinem secundum 1 Tim. ii. 7. explicans quadripartitum:

"Precationes facimus in celebratione sacramentorum antequam illud quod est in domini mensa incipiat benedici: orationes quum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit . . . . Interpellationes autem sive, ut vestri codices (bibliorum sc.) habent, postulationes fiunt, quum populus benedicitur. Tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit apostolus."

VI. FULGENTIUS (C. ANN. 530).

1. Ad 1 Cor. xi. 23. *In Excerptis apud Sirmondum* (p. 36. Palmer, i. 140.), *De precibus in commemoratione pro defunctis:*

"Cum tempore sacrificii commemorationem mortis ejus faciamus, charitatem nobis tribui per adventum S. Spiritus postulamus: hoc suppliciter exorantes ut per ipsam charitatem qua pro nobis Christus crucifigi dignatus est, nos quoque, gratia S. Spiritus accepta, mundum crucifixum habere et mundo crucifigi possimus: imitantesque Domini nostri mortem, sicut Christus quod mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel, quod

autem vivit, vivit Deo, etiam nos in novitate vitæ ambulemus, et munere charitatis accepto, moriamur peccato et vivamus Deo." . . .

2. Ib. p. 39. "Hoc autem quod petimus, id est ut in patre et filio unum simus, per unitatem gratiæ spiritualiter accipimus.

3. *De orationibus pro infidelibus et pro fidelibus:*

De bono perseverantiæ, c. 7.:

"Prorsus in hac re non operosas disputationes expectet ecclesia, sed attendat quotidianas orationes suas. Orat ut increduli credant . . . . Orat ut credentes perseverent." . . . . . .

Ib. c. 23.: "Utinam tardi corde et infirmi, qui non possunt, vel nondum possunt scripturas vel earum expositiones intelligere, sic audirent, vel non audirent in hac quæstione disputationes nostras, ut magis intuerentur orationes suas, quas semper habuit et habebit ecclesia ab exordiis suis, donec finiatur hoc sæculum.— Quando enim non oratum est in ecclesia pro infidelibus inimcis, ut crederent?—Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles dominum invocantem, si quando dicit: Da illis, domine, in te perseverare usque in finem, non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, Amen: quum aliud in ipsa oratione dominica non orant fideles, dicentes maxime illud: Ne nos inferas in tentationem: nisi ut in sancta obedientia perseverent?"

4. *De "communi oratione," a Diacono indicta (Litania), et de aliis orationibus in fine missæ catechumenorum:*

Ep. cvii. ad Vitalem:

"Exerce contra orationes ecclesiæ disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse cœperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic; te non facere, quod hortatur . . . . . Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum,

vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis Amen?"

VII. CANONES AFRICANI DE LITURGIA.

1. *Concil. Carthagin.* iii. (*anni* 397). *Canon* xxiv.:

"Ut nemo in precibus vel patrem pro filio, vel filium pro patre nominet. Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit."

2. *Canon* iii. *in Codice Africano:*

"Ἀρεσε καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε προοίμια, εἴτε παραθέσεις, εἴτε τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλας κατὰ τῆς πίστεως μηδέποτε προενεχθῆναι· ἀλλ' αἵ τινες δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν συνετωτέρων συνήχθησαν, λεχθήσονται."

3. *Canon* xii. *Concil. Milevitani* I[1] (*anno* 402):

"Placuit etiam illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum."

B. LITURGIÆ AFRICANÆ QUÆ SUPERSUNT.

(Mabillon. p. 14.)

S. AUGUSTINUS, Sermo cxxvii. De Sacramentis (ad Catechumenos):

"Primo post orationem (oblationis fidelium, scilicet) admonemini sursum habere cor. Ideo cum dicitur *Sursum cor*, respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum.* Sequitur Episcopus vel Presbyter qui offert, et dicit *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro:* et vos attestamini *Dignum et justum est.* Deinde *post*

sanctificationem sacrificii (h. e. post orationem consecrationis) dicimus *Orationem dominicam.* Tum dicitur *Pax vobiscum,* et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto."

MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER (C. ANN. 350).

"Sicut in oblatione dicitur: Munda tibi populum circumvitalem, æmulatorem bonorum operum, circa tuam substantiam venientem."

Quæ cum sola ex liturgia Africana supersint, nec sperandum sit fore ut rescripti codices Africani aliquando inveniantur, vereor ne nobilissimæ illius ecclesiæ orationes prorsus interierint. Ordinem autem tertio, quarto, quintoque seculo hunc fere fuisse apparet, quem Alexandrinum redolere originem lectores non fugiet.

Oblatio populi.

Oratio oblationis: Munda tibi, etc., cum prece precatoria.

Præfatio: Sursum corda, etc.

Laudes (Vere dignum et justum est: cum hymno [Agios] Sanctus).

Sanctificatio sacrificii per invocationem (præmissis verbis institutionis).

Osculum pacis.

Benedictio populi (Interpellatio), sacerdote populum Deo offerente.

Communio.

Gratiarum actio post communionem.

II. LITURGIA MEDIOLANENSIS QUÆ AMBROSIANA DICITUR.

(v. Daniel. Cod. Lit. i. p. 54. sqq.)

ORDO MISSÆ ANTIQUUS, QUOAD RESTITUI POTEST.

Missa Catechumenorum.

INGRESSA, i. e. versus e Psalterio vel Prophetis delecti, qui Romanis Introitus.

(Sine Psalmo, Repetitione, et Gloria Patri.)

Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Gloria in Excelsis.

(*Kyrie eleison*) quod, ut sæpe in hoc officio, serius intrusum credo.

Lectio prophetica.

Sequitur Psalmulus s. Psalmellus, qui in Gallicano Cursu dicitur Psalmus Responsorius, h. e. versus selecti e Psalmo quodam (Romanis Gradale vel Graduale).

Lectio Epistolæ.

Sequitur: Alleluia et Versus.

Lectio Evangelii. R. Gloria tibi Domine.

Sequitur: Antiphona, singulis officiis propria (Romanis Offertorium).

Missæ Fidelium Exordium.

Osculum pacis. Pacem habete. R. Ad te Domine.

Oratio super sindonem (super corporale): oratio secreta quinti seculi.

Oblatio.

Oblationem panis et vini a populo faciendam adumbrat nostri

temporis usus in cathedrali Mediolanensi. Aluntur decem senes totidemque anus, ex quibus per vices, cum ad oblationem progreditur, duo senes, duæque feminæ aniles antiqua simplicitate indutæ, ad gradus altaris accedunt (secundum Beroaldum in chorum intrant), oblatas (panes) vinique urceolos (quos amulas appellant) portantes et sacerdotibus offerentes. V. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iv. p. 854. In fine orationis secretæ ad munus oblatum dicitur:

Benedictio Oblatæ. "Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti copiosa de cœlo descendat super hanc nostram oblationem, et accepta tibi sit hæc oblatio, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, misericordissime rerum conditor. Amen."

[*Offerenda,* serioris ætatis antiphona, præsertim ex Apoc. cap. v. conflata, et a choro canenda:] Ecce apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii, et Hierusalem nova descendit de cœlo, in qua est sedes Dei et agni, et servi ejus offerunt ei munera dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est. V. Et ecce sedet in medio ejus super thronum majestatis suæ agnus, et vox sonat ante eum dicens: Vicit Leo de tribu Juda, radix David; et quatuor animalia requiem non habent dicentes sedenti super thronum: Sanctus.

[*Credo.*] Symbolum Nicænum serius hic insertum.

Anaphora vel Laudes.

Præfatio cum Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus (diebus festis propria).

[Canonis orationes, ex Sacramentario Gregoriano, quæ incipiunt ab illis verbis: Te igitur clementissime Pater.]

Hoc loco statuenda est oratio quam *Post Sanctus* Gallicani appellant, qua introducitur ad Verba Institutionis, secundum textum Pamelii unice genuinum:

" Hoc est enim corpus meum, *quod pro vobis confringetur.*
Simili modo . . . . accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.
Hic est enim sanguis meus.
Hæc quotiescunque feceritis," etc.

Sequitur in ritu Ambrosiano consecrationis formula: *Oratio super oblata*, diversa pro singulis diebus festis. Oratio dominica.

Communio.

[Agnus Dei non dicitur nisi in missis pro defunctis.]

Sacerdos porrigens oblatam: Corpus Christi. R. Amen. Antiphona, dicta *Transitorium.*

Postcommunio et Benedictio.

Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum sp. tuo.
Kyrie Eleison (ter).
Benedicat et exaudiat nos Deus. R. Amen.
Procedamus in pace. R. In nomine Christi.
Benedicamus Domino. R. Deo gratias.
Benedicat vos divina majestas: Pater ✠ et Filius ✠ et Spiritus Sanctus ✠. R. Amen.

Quæ omnia apud Mabillonium et apud ipsum Danielem videbis mire esse confusa. Scilicet in ordinario missæ Mediolanensis post verba institutionis canon Gregorianus introducitur verbis: "Unde et memores." Fugit tamen eos, qui has res nuperrime tractaverunt, exstare in Sacramentario ecclesiæ Mediolanensis ipsam precem consecrationis, quam Gallicani "Post Secreta," Hispani "Post Pridie" appellant. Oratio scilicet "Super oblata" est mutabilis in ritu Ambrosiano, et cum in Missa Dominicali per canonem Gregorianum sit ejecta, pro singulis diebus festis in illo Sacramentario servatæ sunt formulæ propriæ. Quarum maxima pars cum nihil fere contineat nisi generalem quandam precem ad diem festum respicientem, in nonnullis tamen sanctificationem populi ejusque oblationis evidenter a Deo poscunt, et genuinam quamvis serioris ætatis formulam consecrationis nobis exhibent. Brevissimæ quidem sunt

hujuscemodi orationes tamquam evanescentes primævæ ecclesiæ voces, quæ, si cum antiquis Græcæ ecclesiæ formulis comparantur, septimi seculi indolem produnt. Uberiores in palimpsestis codicibus quarti vel ineuntis quinti seculi nos aliquando inventuros spero. Hic quasdam hujuscemodi Pameliani codicis formulas apposuisse sat erit.

In Festo Epiphaniæ.

Pietatis tuæ, Domine, sacramentum recolentes sacrificium tibi laudis offerimus.

In Dom. sec. post Epiphaniam.

Oblata, Domine, munera sanctifica, nosque per hæc a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda.

In Festo Resurrectionis.

Suscipe, quæsumus, Domine, plebis tuæ et tuorum hostias renatorum, ut et confessione tui nominis et baptismate renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur.

In Festo Pentecostes.

Præsta, Domine, quæsumus, ut secundum promissionem filii tui D. N. J. C. Spiritus Sanctus hujus nobis sacrificii copiosius revelet arcanum, et omnem propitius reserat veritatem.

III. ORDO LITURGIARUM GALLICANARUM ET GOTHORUM IN HISPANIA.

A. De ordine Liturgiæ Gothorum in Hispania sic *Isidorus* episcopus Hispalensis (c. a. 633) qui eam ultimo loco constituisse traditur (Isid. Opp. ed. Arevalus. vi. p. 380.):

Prima oratio ejusdem Missæ *admonitio* erga populum est, ut omnes excitentur ad exorandum Deum.

Secunda invocatio ad Deum est, ut clementer *suscipiat* preces fidelium *oblationesque* eorum.

Tertia autem effunditur *pro offerentibus*, sive pro *defunctis fidelibus*, ut per ipsum sacrificium veniam consequantur.

Quarta post hæc infertur *pro osculo pacis* ut caritate reconciliati omnes invicem digne sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi consocientur, quia non recipit dissensionem cujusquam Christi indivisibile verbum.

Quinta deinde infertur *Inlatio* in sanctificatione oblationis: in qua etiam ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque cœlestium universitas provocatur, et *Hosanna in excelsis* cantatur.

Porro sexta exhinc succedit *Conformatio Sacramenti*, ut oblatio quæ Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum, Christi corpori et sanguini conformetur.*

Ultima vero *Dominica oratio* est.

B. De Liturgia Gallicana hæc exstant veterum testimonia:

De *Hilario* episcopo Pictaviensi (inde ab anno 350) hæc

* Quod apud Mabillonium, De Lit. Gall. p. 10., legimus, *confirmatio* et *confirmetur*, ab Hittorpio et Romanensibus conficta sunt; Libri antiqui lectionem tuentur, quam ipsæ leges grammaticæ postulant.

profert Hieronymus de Scriptt. c. 100.: "Librum hymnorum et alium mysteriorum composuit:" quibus ultimis verbis compositiones eucharisticæ intelligendæ sunt.

Seculo vero quinto liturgias composuit in Gallia *Sidonius Apollinaris*, Avernorum (Clermont) episcopus circa annum 480, et clarus illa ætate rhetor ac poeta; cujus libro "De missis ab eo compositis" Gregorius Turonensis præfationem addidit (Hist. ii. 22.). Paullo ante eum *Musæus*, presbyter Massiliensis, qui circa medium quintum seculum e vivis excessit, librum sacramentorum composuerat, de quo hæc Gennadius in libro De Vir. ill. c. 72. (Mabillon. p. 28.):

"Ad personam S. Eustasii episcopi . . . . composuit *Sacramentorum* egregium et non parvum volumen, per membra quidem pro opportunitate officiorum et temporum, pro lectionum textu psalmorumque serie et decantatione discretum: sed supplicandi Deo et *contestandi* beneficiorum ejus soliditate sui consentaneum."

Sexti denique seculi testimonium præbet locus illustris Cæsarii Episcopi Arelatensis, qui anno 542 vita defunctus est, in Homilia XII. (Bibl. PP. Max. vol. viii.):

"Multi sunt qui lectis divinis lectionibus statim de ecclesia foris exeunt. — Si diligenter attenderitis, cognoscetis quod non tunc fiunt missæ, quando divinæ lectiones in ecclesia recitantur, sed quando munera offeruntur vel corpus et sanguis domini consecrantur; nam lectiones sive propheticas sive apostolicas sive evangelicas etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legere aut alios legentes audire potestis, consecrationem vero corporis et sanguinis Christi non alibi nisi in domo Dei audire vel videre poteritis. Ideo qui vult missas ad integrum celebrare, usquequo oratio diminica dicatur et benedictio populo detur, se debet in ecclesia continere. Cum enim maxima pars populi, immo quod pejus est, pæne omnes recitatis lectionibus exeunt de ecclesia, cui dicturus est sacerdos, Sursum corda; numquid respondere possunt quando discedunt? Vel qualiter cum tremore simul et gaudio clamabunt: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini; aut quando oratio dominica dicitur, quis est, qui humiliter et veraciter clamet: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris? Cum enim etiam illi, qui se in ecclesia continent, si non dimiserint debita debitoribus, ad judicium magis quam ad remedium orationem dominicam proferunt ex ore, quam implere non probantur in opere; et sine causa dicunt, Libera nos a

malo, quando ipsi non desinunt reddere malum pro malo. Unde iterum rogo, ut donec divina mysteria compleantur, nullus de ecclesia abscedat."

Ad monumenta quod attinet, nulla exstant liturgiæ Hispanicæ quæ ultra Isidori Hispalensis ætatem, h. e. ultra septimum seculum certa fide nos referant. Sed noli credere Isidorianas formulas nobis puras asservatas esse in Sacramentario, quod Ximenes Cardinalis anno 1500 Toleti imprimi jussit Qui ordo voce barbara Mozarabicus cum nominetur, ætatem indicat, qua Arabes cum Christianis permixte vivebant, unde Mozarabes dicebantur. Viguit ordo ille usque ad finem undecimi seculi. Insunt tamen in Sacramentario isto, quod secundum Isidori regulam factum esse titulus prædicat, preces Isidoro antiquiores, nec mihi dubium est, quin ordo Gothicus quinti seculi ex eo restitui possit. Vetustiora detegent codices rescripti.

Faustius omnino Liturgiæ Gothicæ in Gallia Narbonnensi usitatæ res evasit. Vetus enim Missale Gothicum, jam a Morino memoratum, Bona Cardinalis in codice Petaviano (qui in bibliotheca reginæ Christinæ Vaticana adservatur) invenit, Thomasius Cardinalis publici juris fecit. Quem codicem ineunte seculo octavo scriptum esse putat Mabillonius (p. 176.); missam saltem continet in memoriam S. Leodegarii qui anno 678 necatus est. Habemus certe hic liturgiam vere Gallicanam, at posterioris ætatis, quod cum multis aliis ex rebus satis appareat, tum maxime probatur formulis illius *Consecrationis* quæ post verba Institutionis oratur, et quam Oratio dominica cum solita introductione excipit. Cujus origo in Liturgia Græca secundi, tertii, quartive seculi cum sit quærenda, exstant in illo missali formulæ quædam satis accurate ad Græcum exemplar conformatæ: at facile est intellectu, paullatim, ut in Prolegomenis significavimus, evanuisse in Gallicana ecclesia sensum Invocationis, et e formulis illis tantummodo precem quandam evasisse, vel ut Deus eucharistiæ perceptionem jam secuturam omnibus faciat ratam et salutarem, vel ut panem et vinum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri efficiat.

Formulæ illæ liturgicæ secundum anni ecclesiastici circulum dispositæ ea tantum continent quæ sunt singulis festis propria, additis omissisve paucis. Ordo plenus hic est:

Collectio post prophetiam (post primam lectionem).
Collectio post epistolam vel quod epistolæ loco legebatur: quæ rarissime occurrit (exemplum vide apud Mabillonium, p. 190.).
Præfatio Missæ, adlocutio ad populum, quam sequitur.
Collectio (qui locus est precis precatoriæ, more Alexandrino).
Post nomina (e diptychis lecta) oratio.
Ad pacem (osculum pacis) oratio.
Contestatio Missæ vel Immolatio Missæ: Vere dignum et justum est.
Post Sanctus: quæ oratio semper verbis institutionis "Qui pridie" terminatur.
Post Secreta, h. e. post illa institutionis verba.
Orationes ante et post orationem dominicam.
Benedictio populi.
Post Communionem, Exhortatio et Collectio.

Non majoris certe ætatis auctoritatisve esse credo Missale Gallicanum vetus, quod idem Thomasius et post eum Mabillonius ediderunt ex codice Palatino bibliothecæ Vaticanæ (N. 493.) "characteribus uncialibus sed negligentiori sæpe manu conscripto," ut ipsi memorant. Exhibet quidem illud missale Liturgiam Gallicanam, neque Canonem Romanum agnoscit: at verba quædam inde mutuatum est, ut in oratione *post nomina* in Missa de Adventu (Mab. p. 333.). Formulas liturgicas paucas exhibet, et tantummodo in festo S. Germani et in Adventu Domini formulam consecrationis, hanc scilicet:

"Descendat, precamur, omnipotens Deus, super hæc, quæ tibi offerimus, Verbum tuum sanctum; descendat inæstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus; descendat antiquæ indulgentiæ tuæ donum: ut fiat oblatio hæc hostia spiritalis in odorem suavitatis accepta; etiam nos famulos tuos per sanguinem Christi tua manus invicta custodiat."

Sacramentarium Bobiense quod Mabillonius edidit Gallicanum est, vel proprie Burgundicum (martyr in eo memoratur

Sigismundus rex, qui occisus est anno 524); sed jam ut Missale Francorum, Romano canone invasum est: unicum antiquitatis vestigium in nonnullis orationibus "Post nomina" remanet, cum Gallicana consecrationis formula ad calcem Offertorii fuerit detrusa, titulo orationis quæ ad nomina ex diptychis lecta referretur.

Ex his igitur monumentis et illis Gregorii Turonensis (cujus locos huc spectantes primus omnium collegit Ruinartius) optimus Mabillonius ordinem officii Gallicani restituit, quem secutus Daniel, vir doctissimus, libro suo harmoniam Hispanici et Gallicani ordinis constituere conatus est. Quem ordinem breviter jam perlustrabimus et delectum quendam illarum consecrationis formularum inseremus.

ORDO OFFICII SECUNDUM GREGORIUM TURONENSEM ET MISSALE GOTHICUM OCTAVI SECULI.

Ante Missam Fidelium multa habet Ordo Mozarabicus, quæ evidenter ad posteriorem ætatem pertinent. Gallicanus hæc tantum:

Pro Introitu: Antiphona (Mab. p. 36.).
Kyrie eleison.
Gloria in excelsis Deo.
Præfatio, h. e. Populi commonitio, quæ Isidoro est *prima* Missæ oratio.
Lectio prophetica.
Psalmus responsorius.
Lectio Epistolæ.
Lectio Evangelii.
Inlationis (i. e. *oblationis*) *antiquæ fidelium exordium.*
Oblatio populi ad altare cum pane et vino accedentis.
Oratio oblationis (formula Consecrationis oblatorum cum Invocatione): Isidoro oratio *secunda.* Cujus exemplar servavit Micrologus (c. an. 1200.) qui c. xi. hæc habet:

"Composita oblatione in altari dicit sacerdos hanc orationem juxta Gallicanum ordinem: Veni sanctificator omnipotens æterne Deus,

et benedic hoc sacrificium nomini tuo præparatum: per Christum Dominum nostrum."

(Preces precatoriæ, more Alexandrino, ad hanc pertinent orationem.)

Oratio post nomina (lectis diptychis): Isidoro *tertia.* Hac inscriptione in Sacramentario Bobiensi antiquæ et oblationis et consecrationis formulæ Gallicanæ nobis servatæ sunt:

In Missa Dom. (Mab. p. 375.) Offerentes Deo, fr. car. spiritalia munera divinam clementiam deprecemur, ut has oblationes, quas in commemoratione sanctorum et pro salute omnium credentium offerimus, plena pietatis suæ dignatione suscipiat, nostrum omnium preces exaudiat.

In Missa Jejunii. (p. 307.) Præsta nobis misericors Deus, ut munera nostra pro jejunii sanctificatione oblata Sp. S. adsumat; et ad te toto corde clamantes propitiationis tuæ indulgentiam consequamur.

In Missa Quinquagesimæ. (p. 338.) Virtute Sancti Spiritus, Domine, nostra munera contínge: ut quod solemnitate quinquaginsimæ suo nomini dedicavit, et intelligibile nobis faciat et æternum.

Oratio ad pacem (*Osculum pacis*): Isidoro oratio *quarta.*

Illatio et *Contestatio* (quæ Romanis est Præfatio) ad festos dies singulos accommodata cum hymno Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

Quam excipiunt *Verba institutionis*: "*Qui pridie*:" hæc vero sequitur solemnis illa consecrationis oratio qua Spiritus Sanctus invocatur ut dona illa faciat corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi: quam orationem Isidorus (*sexta* ei est) *Conformationem* Sacramenti appellat.

Ad *Verba Institutionis* quod attinet, genuina Gallicanæ ecclesiæ formula hæc fuisse videtur:

"Dominus noster Jesus Christus in qua nocte tradebatur . . . Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur . . . Hic est calix novi testamenti in meo sanguine quod pro vobis et pro multo effundetur in remissionem peccatorum . . . . Quotiescumque manducaveritis panem hunc

et calicem istum biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis, donec veniet in claritate de cœlis." *

Consecrationis oratio, quæ dicitur "*Post mysterium*" (apud antiquiores "Post Secreta," apud Mozarabes "*Post Pridie*"), pro singulis festis diebus diversa est, at formulæ nobis servatæ serioris et labentis sunt ecclesiæ, non antiquæ, ut Gallicanis rescriptis nunc probari potest. In liturgia Mozarabica solemnem quandam habent clausulam qua terminantur, his fere verbis conceptam:

"Te præstante, sancte Domine, quia tu hæc omnia nobis indignis servis tuis valde bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis ac præstas nobis, ut sit benedicta a te, Deo nostro, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

In liturgia Gallicana similiter consecrationis oratio in missa quaque invenitur; nonnullæ ad Græcorum consecrationis verba cum invocatione Spiritus solemni propius accedunt: inter alias etiam hæc quæ in festo circumcisionis legitur (Mab. p. 20.):

"Hæc nos, Domine, instituta et præcepta retinentes suppliciter oramus, uti hoc sacrificium suscipere et benedicere et sanctificare digneris: ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima in tuo filiique tui nomine et spiritus sancti, in transformationem corporis ac sanguinis domini dei nostri Jesu Christi unigeniti tui. Per quem omnia creas, creata benedicis, benedicta sanctificas, et sanctificata largiris, deus qui in trinitate perfecta vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum."

Quibuscum juvat conferre quæ in Adsumptione B. M. V. leguntur (p. 214.):

"Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coæternus et cooperator paracletus Spiritus: ut oblationem, quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porreximus, cœlesti permuneratione, te sanctificante sumamus: ut translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis quod obtulimus pro delictis. Præsta omnipotens deus, qui vivis et regnas in sæcula."

Et in Missa in Cathedra S. Petri (p. 227.):

"Hæc igitur præcepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostræ salutis

* Ultima verba in Mozarabum tantum liturgia servata sunt. (Mab. p. 47.)

offerimus, obsecrantes ut immittere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum super hæc solemnia; ut fiat nobis eucharistia in tuo filiique tui nomine et spiritus sancti, in transformatione (l. transformationem) corporis ac sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi, unigeniti tui, edentibus nobis vitam æternam, regnumque perpetuum conlatura bibituris. Per ipsum dominum," etc.

Et in Missa in Dominica Palmarum (symbolum dum traditur: v. p. 236.):

"Aspice in cœlo vultu tuo, pie miserator, hæc munera, qui semper es propensus ad dona; et ipsa contemplatione oblata sanctifices naturali majestate, qui perpetue sanctus es et sancta largiris. Quod ipse præsta," etc.

Pleræque autem consecrationis formulæ, quæ in Missali Gothico inveniuntur, generalem quandam invocationem Dei precemque continent. In Missa in Cœna domini, feria quarta hebdomadis sacræ, agnus Dei invocatur (p. 238.):

"Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, respice in nos et miserere nobis, factus nobis ipse hostia qui sacerdos, ipse præmium qui redemptor; a malis omnibus quos redemisti custodi, Salvator."

In prima Missa Dominicali (p. 292.) hæc leguntur:

"Ostende omnipotens Deus gratiam, agnosce doctrinam. Tu es mysterium pro salute, tu pretium; doce perseverantiam cum docueris disciplinam; ut in hac oblatione nos liberes, qui pro occidentibus et moreris. Per d. n." etc.

In ea quæ hanc proxime sequitur (p. 293.):

"Per hunc te, Deus pater omnipotens, deprecamur, ut sicut sacri mysterii obedientiam retinemus, ita ad tutelam nostram cœlestis virtus operetur. Per d. n." etc.

At in alia Missa Dominicali (p. 298.) oratio ab ipsis solemnibus Græcæ ecclesiæ verbis incipit:

"Memores gloriosissimæ domini passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis, offerimus tibi domine hanc immaculatam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem, obsecrantes ut infundere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum edentibus nobis, vitam æternam regnumque perpetuum conlatura potantibus. Per d. n." etc.

Similiter exstant in Missali Gothico, vel potius Mozarabo, præter generales illas preces, scrioribus seculis oriundas, interdum etiam contra antiquæ ecclesiæ et morem et legem non ad Patrem sed ad Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum factas, complures formulæ antiqua consecrationis ecclesiæ orientis indole penitus imbutæ, quas eo magis hic afferam, quo Daniel aliique auctores hæc omnia silentio præterierint:

"*In Domin. sexta post Epiph.*

"Credentes Domine universa mirabilia Domini nostri J. C. filii tui, atque incarnationis ejus et divinitatis potentiam confitentes, in tuis laudibus exultamus, tibique sacrificium laudis offerimus. Rogamus clementiam tuam, summa Trinitas Deus et infinita majestas, ut hæc oblatio quam in sancto altario tuo deferimus pro nostrorum expiatione facinorum, sit oculis tuis placita, sit semper accepta, simulque efficiatur illo sancto superveniente septiformi spiritu benedicta: quo ubique Deus veraciter manifestetur in ea. Ut te hanc hostiam benedicente, si qui ex ea libaverint, te largiente, et in hoc seculo percipiant medicinam, et in futuro consequantur vitæ æternæ coronam. Amen.

"*In Domin. quinta Quadragesimæ.*

"Recitatis Domine unigeniti tui sacramentorum præceptis, simulque præclaræ passionis et resurrectionis et in cœlum ascensionis memoriam facientes, majestatem tuam supplices rogamus ac petimus, ut in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui sancti de cœlis. Ut fiat hoc sacrificium secundum ordinem Melchisedech: fiat hoc sacrificium secundum ordinem Patriarcharum et Prophetarum tuorum. Ut quod ab illis typice facientibus, unigeniti filii tui significantibus adventum, tua majestas acceptare dignata est, sic hoc sacrificium respicere et sanctificare digneris: quod est verum corpus et sanguis domini nostri J. C. filii tui; qui pro nobis omnibus factus est sacerdos et hostia. Hanc itaque hostiam tu, piissime pater, de tuæ claritatis respectu sanctifica: ut sumentibus eam et hic delictorum veniam et æternam in cœlis conferes vitam.

"*In Die Resurrectionis.*

"Precamur nunc, Domine sancte, Pater æterne, omnipotens Deus, ut quemadmodum D. N. J. Christus filius tuus illa ineffabilium gratiarum actione semetipsum tibi pro nobis offerens, mortem nostram suscepturus auditus est, ita nunc et nos, qui ipsum et vitam ejus quærimus exequendo ministerialiter quæ instituit, audiamur. Ut hic tibi panis cum hoc calice oblatus in filii tui corpus et sanguinem te benedicente ditescat. Ac largo oris tui perfusus spiritu, indulgentiam nobis omnium peccatorum largiatur, et gratiam, et collatæ a se salutis dono, donec in semetipso perficiat, custodiam adhibeat indefessam.

"*Kald. Novbr.*

"Complentes igitur atque servantes præcepta unigeniti filii tui precamur, omnipotens pater, ut his creaturis superpositis altario tuo sanctificationis munus infundas. Ut per transfusionem cœlestis atque invisibilis sacramenti panis hic transmutatus in carnem, et calix transformatus in sanguinem sit offerentibus gratia et sumentibus medicina."

Oratio dominica, Isidoro *ultima.* Præcedunt in codicibus liturgicis verba solita introductionis, pro diebus festis varia.

"Pater noster qui es in cœlis . . . . Et ne nos inducas in tentationem."

(Responsum Populi:)

Sed libera nos a malo.

"*Libera nos,*" vel "*Liberati a malo,*" vel similiter incipit oratio pro diebus festis. Exemplum exhibet nobilis oratio in festo nativitatis Domini. (Daniel, p. 97.) "Libera nos omnipotens Deus ab omni malo, et custodi nos in omni opere bono, perfecta veritas et vera libertas, Deus, qui regnas in secula seculorum."

Benedictio populi, ab Isidoro non nominata. V. Mab. i. 4. 14.

Communio sacerdotis, cleri et populi.

Adlocutio post Communionem, sive *post Eucharistiam,* quam sequitur Collectio sive oratio, Isidoro incognita.

Quæ tantum cum ex liturgiis octavi vel extremi septimi seculi potuerint elici, nova lux affulsit nostris diebus e codicibus palimpsestis. In primo loco hic ponendum nobile liturgiæ quarti seculi fragmentum quod summi Niebuhrii debetur acumini, et quod cum optimus magister mihi pro codice liturgico, quem redigere constitueram, eo quo erat erga me amore misisset, per triginta fere annos in schedis adservavi, frustra sperans fore ut unus certe ex iis quos juvenes ad liturgiæ nostræ principia investiganda exhortatus fueram, hunc laborem susciperet. Sed cum aliquos ex iis mors præripuerit, ceteros alia fata ab ecclesiæ antiquitatisque christianæ studiis avulserint, hæc de Hippolyto disquisitio causa mihi fuit, ut novo ardore in hanc arenam denuo descenderem, votumque diu susceptum quomodocunque ipse persolverem. Arduam hanc operam jam eram aggressus, quo tempore uberior fons sese aperuit studiis viri de antiquitatibus Allemanniæ optime meriti. Nam cum ille Niebuhrii codex inter alia minora fragmenta nobis illud nobile fragmentum missæ pro mortuis exhibeat, scilicet orationem solemnem quæ hymnum insequitur "Ter sanctus" et proxime præcedit institutionis verba, consecrationis vero ipsius prima tantum verba præbeat, in illo Allemannico sexti, ut videbimus, seculi codice integram missam Gallicanam reperi, qualis seculo quinto sextove, Chlodovici igitur temporibus, ante Gregorium Turonensem celebrabatur. Quæ res cum et nova sit et summi momenti, uberius mihi de hoc codice palimpsesto ejusque editore erit disserendum.

Libellus ille a Francisco Josepho Monio editus inscribitur: Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert (Francof. 1850, 4to). In quo vir ille primus post Mabillonium monumenta protulit liturgiæ Gallicanæ ex rescripto codice pergameno qui quondam Abbatiæ Augiensis (Reichenau) erat, in diœcesi Constantiensi sitæ, nunc vero in bibliotheca Carlsruhensi asservatur (N. 253.). Conscriptus est exeunte seculo octavo; Joannis enim episcopi Constantiensis mentionem facit, qui inde ab anno 760 usque ad annum 768 illi diœcesi præfuit. Attamen vir iste in palæographia doctissimus

priorem partem jam ineunte septimo seculo scriptam putat, solius scripturæ argumento innixus. Sed sub illa alia latet scriptura, erasa quidem, at editoris sollertia revocata. Quadraginta quinque folia rescripta in priorem ordinem reducta undecim missarum Gallicanarum fragmenta exhibent, de quarum ætate, cum adeo mira iste fabulatus sit, certiora indicia cum in codicis scriptura tum in ipsa liturgia quæremus.

Inter illas est Missa pro Sancto Germano, episcopo Antissiodorensi, qui anno 448 supremum diem obiit. Est quidem missarum ultima; posterioris autem eam esse ætatis quam quæ præcedunt, Monii est conjectura. Etenim cum reliquæ omnino ad liturgiam celebrandam referantur, hæc vero sola uni cuidam Sancto dedicetur, facile evenire potuit ut in ultimo loco collocaretur, licet eadem, qua ceteræ, ætate orta fuerit. S. Remigii circa a. 533 defuncti memoria non celebratur. Frustra autem V. D. in orationis cujusdam fragmento, codici addito, et literis Merovingicis sexti seculi scripto, Gothorum vel Burgundionum mentionem odoratur, qui seculi quarti initio illam provinciam invaserunt. Nam oratio antiquissimam illam generis humani post lapsum Adami servitutem describit, non quam barbarorum gentes invexerunt. En ipsa mutila illa verba (p. 39.): . . . . "peccavimus coram te cum patribus nostris *: injuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus, omnia hereditatis tuæ dona perdidimus, confusi † nostrorum labe peccaminum. Domum nostram alienigenus hostis invasit ‡; subjecti facti sumus servi dominantibus nobis, addicti vinculo devictorum. Converte nos Domine ad serviendum tibi: renova § tui operatione mandati; per Dominum nostrum," etc.

Jam si his conjecturis omissis in ipsam codicis scripturam inquiris, habes editoris testimonium, scripturam quæ in Missa S. Germani invenitur ad amussim respondere scripturæ codicis Darmstadiensis, qui Canones exhibet Apostolicos (v. p. 143. sq.: cf. p. 151.) et anno 535 scriptus est. Quodsi illam, quæ per

* Cod.: peccamina se imparibus nostras. † Cod.: confusio.

‡ Eodem modo in missæ contestatione quam infra repetimus dicitur: alienas in leges transit anima (sc. corporis et peccati).

§ Cod.: renovas. Pro *operatione*, M. perperam legi vult *operationem*.

æneam laminam expressa libroque adjecta est, cum priorum missarum scriptura comparaveris, facile videbis eam aut ejusdem aut proximæ esse ætatis. Dubito igitur num lectoribus persuasurus sit acutissimus palæographus codicem, illa missa excepta, scriptum fuisse priore quinti seculi parte: quem certe sexti seculi priore parte posteriorem non esse credo. Liturgia quidem ipsa ad extremum seculum quartum vel ad quinti initium pertinet. Non quod linguæ cujusdam doctæ at rusticæ, de qua Monius nugatur, vestigia in innumeris librariorum lapsibus agnosci volo; sed quia rhetorica illa atque ampullosa oratio a quinti seculi scriptoribus aliena est. Scholæ rhetorum quinto seculo in Gallia institutæ verbosum et antitheticum dicendi genus introduxerunt, quod "Gallica facundia" mire excoluit, veterum auctorum et ipsorum illius ætatis monumentorum testimonio. Genus vero rhetoricum in liturgias componendas per totum orbem Christianum quarto seculo ingruere cœpit; cujus rei luculentum testimonium exhibet illud Hilarii Pictaviensis liturgiæ fragmentum quod Niebuhrio debemus. Neque magnum est inter hoc et illud dicendi genus discrimen.

Dolendum est virum alioquin optime de re diplomatica meritum in ipsa horum fragmentorum interpretatione indulsisse miris somniis, quæ minime ad patriam luminum illorum Allemanniæ, Hugi, Wessenbergi, Hirscheri, neque omnino ad nomen Germanum adaptata sint, sed potius ad ultramontanorum doctrinas et superstitiones refocillandas inclinare videntur. Talia omni qua par est severitate judicare honesti viri est, ne a barbarie, simul cum superstitione jamjam irruenti, monstra nugæque nobis impune inferantur, et quæ nunc teneræ ætati in seminariis episcoporum, ubi ars critica abhorretur, tamquam vera et credenda commendantur, ea Gallis Italisque paullo post tamquam vox doctæ Germaniæ proponantur et a viris quibusdam doctis Angliæ prædicentur. Scilicet Monius eo processit insaniæ ut liturgias in illo codice exhibitas seculi secundi, hoc est Irenæi et martyrum Lugdunensium æqualia credat, quippe quæ de illo tempore tamquam præsenti loquantur. Quid? quod unam illarum missarum ad lutum Rhodani alludere ait, in quod ipso tempore quo nostræ preces conscriberentur, sanctorum illorum

martyrum cineres conjecti fuerint. Quæ si legeris, refutaveris. Prodemus igitur e codice textum Contestationis illius tam mira retecturæ mysteria, cum Monii interpretatione, addito textu restituto qui de luto Rhodani vel martyribus Lugdunensibus ne verbum quidem profert.

Quamvis hac in re vir acutissimus viderit quæ non sunt, non quæ sunt vidit; scilicet, fragmenta illa integram eucharistiæ celebrandæ liturgiam repræsentare Gallicanam, cujus exemplar septimo seculo antiquius, Mabillonius omnesque Gallicanæ liturgiæ investigatores tantopere desiderarunt.

Codex ille, sive Galliæ Francorum septentrionalis fuerit (quod probabilius cum auctor illius Abbatiæ Augiensis, Priminius, ex Austrasia sive Lotharingia provenerit), sive, ut Monius sui luti vestigia premens credit, Lugdunensis sit provinciæ, non missas pro singulis anni ecclesiastici partibus profert, sed diversas tantum eucharistiæ celebrandæ formulas, ex quibus suam quisque ex animi sententia seligere posset. In "Præfatione" sive Commonitione sacerdos populum "Fratres karissimi" adloquitur; et "pia eorum cura pro populo" in alia liturgiæ parte laudatur: quæ mihi indicio sunt, hunc libellum abbatiæ cujusdam fuisse, cœtusve clericalis.

Verba Institutionis, hymni Ter Sancti, "Sursum corda," Oratio dominica, et quæcunque omnes noverant, omittuntur; attamen illa suo quodque loco esse dicta eædem testantur formulæ. Consecrationis vero oratio uno saltem loco nobis est servata, verbis expressis.

Quæ cum ita se habeant, diversas partes liturgiæ quæ in illis formulis nobis sunt servatæ, invicem conjungi posse ut unam efficiant integram missam, perspicuum est. Jam ita accidit, ut prima missæ formula (quæ codicis est tertia) ultimam tantum liturgiæ partem exhibeat (p. 13. sq.), hæc scilicet:

Exhortatio ante orationem dominicam.
(Oratio dominica.)
Oratio "Libera nos": post orationem dominicam.
Post communionem: exhortatio.
Collectio (Oratio).
Benedictio (Oratio).

Missa vero quinta (quæ in codice sexta numeratur) priorem partem liturgiæ, inde ab Introitu (qui Gallis est Commonitio populi) usque ad "Collectionem" post "Qui pridie," h. e. post verba institutionis continet. Quæ quidem Collectio ipsa est solemnis consecrationis formula, cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti. Cui proxime successisse Orationem dominicam, interposita Exhortatione, satis constat.

Dabimus igitur prima vice integram liturgiam eucharisticam quinti sextive seculi Gallicanam.

Præterea Consecrationis oratio, quæ post recitata verba institutionis dicenda erat, quinque formulis inter se diversis exstat, quarum una (Missæ V.) expresse ad Christi mandatum illud respiciens, probat (quod cum nostra ætate novis argumentis demonstrare supervacaneum esset, Mónius tamen negavit) verbis "Qui pridie," quæ in codice semper ante consecrationis preces ponuntur, nil aliud indicari nisi illa Institutionis verba.

Alia illarum formularum (Missa VI.) demonstrat, precationem ad Deum ut benedicat donis et populo necessariam quidem habitam fuisse, at invocationem Spiritus Sancti solemnem quam a Græcis acceperat Galliarum ecclesia, paulatim decidisse in generalem quandam benedictionis divinæ precem, quæ degenerata forma si Romano canoni cessit, minime mirandum.

Neque libere preces effundendi facultatem sacerdoti Gallicano quarti seculi inter missarum solemnia fuisse memorabili oratione secreta probatur quæ in una missarum (X.) preces eucharisticas proxime præcedit. Verba ipsa hic appono (Mon. p. 37.)*:

"Deus sancte ecclesiæ constitutor, qui stans in medio discipulorum tuorum venerationis huius sacramenta docuisti, præsta ori meo divinitatis gratiam ut quæ acceptabilia sunt in laude tua verba labia mea inveniant: inlumina faciem tuam super servum tuum, ut de meis

* Inscribitur FETIA, quod Monius supplet: "Post prophetiam." Sed de prophetica lectione hoc loco non agitur. Crediderim nos hic legere precem secretam sacerdotis, in aliis missis non expressam, at dicendam "Post præfationem," hoc est post commonitionem illam populi quæ preces diptychorum proxime præcedebat, laudisque officium sive eucharistiam proprie sic dictam inaugurabatur. Certe quæ sequitur oratio loco illi "ante nomina" unice apta est.

oneribus absolutus, recte etiam tibi pro populo tuo rogaturus adsistam, per dominum n. I. Chr."*

Quæ omnia si mente comprehendis, seculum quartum extremum vel quinti initium indicatur, quo hæ liturgicæ formulæ compositæ fuerint, omnium quæ in Occidente exstant, præter nobile illud Niebuhrii fragmentum antiquissimæ.

Auctorem in tanta obscuritate quærere temerarii esse videtur. Cum Sidonii Apollinaris ingenio tamen et ætate, et cetera omnia et Missa (VIII.) versibus hexametris composita, inde a "Præfatione" usque ad Orationem post "Sanctus," optime conveniunt. Niebuhrii fragmenta Sangallensia secundum omnia indicia medii quarti seculi et Hilarium auctorem esse credo.

* Cod.: labiorum meorum inveniat.

A.

LITURGIA CODICIS SANGALLENSIS.

I. PRECES IN MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS, AUCTORE, UT VIDETUR, SANCTO HILARIO, EPISCOPO PICTAVIENSI (C. AN. 350).

(Ex codice Palimpsesto Bibliothecæ Sangallensis, secundum Niebuhrii Apographum.)

"(RESUR)RECTIONIS futuræ conditor et indultor: Deus, immortalitatis promotor, dispensator adque (l. atque) largitor; qui posuisti præsentis vitæ terminum ut æternitatis reserares introitum, et per finem præsentium principia panderes futurorum; ac per depositionem corruptibilem incorruptionis limen aperires: Deus, qui dissolutionem recedentium a corporibus animarum non interitum voluisti esse, sed somnum, ut dissolutionem dormiendi roborares fiducia resurgendi, dum in te credentium vivendi usus non adimitur sed transfertur; et electorum tuorum mutatur vita non tollitur: Deus, cujus restitutioni nulla diversitas mortis, nullum ingenium variæ perditionis inludet; sed in tantum opera digitorum tuorum perire non pateris, ut quidquid in homine, per mortis varietate (l. varietatem) tempus labefecerit, aura dissolverit, ignis adsumserit (l. absumserit), ales rapuerit, fera carpserit, terra sorbuerit, gurges immerserit, piscis exhauserit, id totum in veterem mariam (l. materiam) redactum, et reviventi reddivivum terra restituat, induatque incorruptionem corruptione deposita: precamur ergo ac petimus ne spiritus servi tui illius, vel ancillæ . . . . . tristibus abyssi tenebris, aut ignitis Gehennæ caminis, aut perpetuis Tartari frigoribus deputatus, pœnalis locum habitationis introeat; sed in sinu Abrahæ, et in gremio patriarchæ tui requiescens, tempus resurrectionis, diemque judicii cum gaudio secuturæ immortalitatis expectet.

"Per Dominum nostrum qui pridie quam pateretur. Fiat nunc quæsumus, indulgentissime pater, per invocationem nomi-

nis tui atque infusionem spiritus tui sancti creaturis omnibus hæc creatura. . . ."*

II. CETERA FRAGMENTA A NIEBUHRIO LECTA, EX VIRI SUMMI APOGRAPHO.

(in)tercessione gaudebimus. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Deus uiuorum, et noster, et mortuorum, cui omnia non mortuis uiuunt, et cui nihil perit nisi quod sibi deperit: indicaturus ipse de omnibus, et pœnæ meritum ignoranti moderaturus errori: dona famulo tuo illi uel illi, quem in pace adsumere dignatus es, requiem, remissione concessa; quia tibi est gloria aput æternum patrem.

Item exhortatio . . . ili S. Recitatio. Co . . . . . mus . . . hostia . . . . . ef . . . . . cordis . . . . . f . . . . . studiis . . . . ece . . . . . rogant . . . e hæc quæ inpendimus, uota pro defunctis, uota pro nobis, uota pro singulis, propitius et propitiandus exaudiat, ac pietate consueta qua in se sperantium sine intermissione miseretur, quæ ad nostram suscipit petitionem defunctis ad beatitudinem.

nox corporum abscedat et mentium, quia benedictus est de die in diem, ipse diem præbeat in corde, qui rediret in tempore. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Reple, Domine, os nostrum laude tua ut per uocis officium cordis nostri in te dirigamus arcanum, ac misericordiam Tuam utroque inclinemus officio, et confitendo pariter et credendo.

Consummatio. Deus qui post blandis (sic!) operis indutias adque otium quiescendi, seducto ac reddito die tempus renouas operandi, adque ita pondus uitæ præsentis adtenuas ut uias temporum salutifera ordinatione distribuas: respice nos initia diei istius tuis laudibus consecrantes, ac præteritæ noctis octio hoc redeunti die laboris suple

* Ad hanc igitur orationem, non ad ipsa verba institutionis, referenda sunt quæ leguntur apud Cæsarium (circa 420) in Homilia septima: "quando benedicendæ verbis cœlestibus creaturæ sacris altaribus imponuntur, *antequam invocatione sancti nominis* consecrentur, substantia illic est panis et vini, post verba autem Christi corpus et sanguis Christi." Quibus Monius probari affirmat, transubstantionem quam dicunt ipsis verbis Christi recitatis effici, cum luce sit clarius, orationem qua Deus rogatur ut elementa faciat corpus et sanguinem Christi, sequi illa institutionis verba, quibus innititur at non suppletur.

commercium ut cuius ortum sanctæ meditationis ingredimur, eius tempora semeli legum tuorum obseruatione curramus. Per Dominum nostrum. Item exhortatio matutina.

ut et mens nostra habeat et te inluminante quod cupiat atque ipsi lux in te fonte luminis facti, sicut dies ..... matutina inlati .... cidimus ita puro ... r conscientiæ rutibare uideamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

Exhortatio matutina. Ad officium supplicationis officio temporis revocati, et ad enarationem luminis æterni serie redituræ lucis adfusi, Domino nostro, F. K.*, a quo uigilandi munus accipimus uigiliarum nostrarum ministerium deferamus, oratione humili, non flebili, confessione laudabili, spiritu contribulato, corpore prostrato, corde contrito, desiderio incaplebili, honore præcipuo, pudore uereunda: ut tanquam filii lucis, dum per suffragia honestatis exhibemus debitum seruitutis, præmium consequi mereamur perpetuæ libertatis. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Præuenit Te, Deus, mane oratio nostra, non quasi incisum . . .

rationis pro diuersitatu temporum diuersitas ætatum. Per Dominum nostrum.

Item exhortatio matutina. Deum æternum, qui splendor ucrus luminum et dies perpetuus est dierum, matutini tempus circulo redeunte, F. K. deprecemur, ut nostras quoque mentes, uitiorum nocte discussa, nobis aduentus sui fulgor inradiet: fiatque in nobis iubar spiritus sancti similitudo (sic) rotulantis diei: ac sicut accipet tempus exordium luminis, ita cor nostrum accipiat sanctitatis: uti nos, qui in matutinis interficiamus omnes peccatores terræ nostræ, et dies terminum sub pari expectatione misericordiæ par quoque mereatur sanctificatio disciplinæ. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Exsurge, Domine, et dispargantur inimici Tui: neque purum fidei sacrificium, in uoce confessionis oblatum, praua uiolent suggestione uitiorum: sed Tu qui introspicis corda, et de .....

ut qui mundasti Tibi populum ... acceptabilem, sectatorem bonorum operum, suscipias fidei eius acceptabilem fructum, in Tua, et Fili, et Spiritus Sancti confessione, adque operum consummatione perfecta. Per Dominum nostrum.

Item exhortatio matutina. Deum æternum, et sine tempore, F. D.†, omni laudemus in tempore, qui ad resurrectionis imaginem

* Fratres Karissimi. † Fratres dilecti.

cotidiani operis discutit molem, ut dum, post sepultas somno curas, uitæ officiis reparamur, ac uelut a mortis similitudine, transacto noctis tempore, discutimus, resurgendi spem cotidianis uitæ defectibus ac recursibus teneamus, et mutatione præsentium capiamus gaudia futurorum; præcantes, ut eodem ipso inluminante mentes nostræ divino officio uigeant, quo custodiente nocturno otio siluerunt: adque ad cultum deuotionis fideliter exhibendum protegat a iaculo uoluntatem . . .

tua confirmet in munere. Per Dominum nostrum.

Item exhortatio matutina, Euoluto noctis silentio quod . . . . . us cuiusque lacrimas . . . . . mporis commodauit . . . . . tas ac confessione di . . . . uenientem diem F. D., societatis præcibus incoemus; quo eius misericordiam communis exhortatio facilius inpetret, quam singulorum gemitus iam pulsauit: proniusque ad auditum eius publica deprecatione penetret, quo secreta oratio iam accessit: petentes ut, siue in conscientia nostra gemimus, siue in eius laudibus exultamus, utrumque animi deseruientes affectu, ipse a . . . . . ipse moderetur: adque ita inoffensum in omnibus et cor nostrum seruet et cursum, ut ei uita nostra et operis sanctificatione, et cordis placeat puritate. Per Dominum nostrum Ihm. Xem.

Collectio. Deus e . . . e teque uigilat spiritus noster ad te . . . quia lux præcepta tua super terram: inlumina nos itaque inlustratione . . .

B.

LITURGIA CODICIS ABBATIÆ AUGIENSIS.

I. EUCHARISTIÆ CELEBRANDÆ FORMULA LITURGICA ECCLESIÆ GALLICANÆ EX MONII CODICE RESCRIPTO RESTITUTA.

(Fragmentum Missæ codicis sextæ.)

*Prefatio.**

UNUM deum patrem et filium ac Spiritum sanctum divisis personarum nominibus, indivisa divinitate confessi, fratres karissimi, totis mentibus deprecemur, ut in omni loco vel tempore cuncti fidem rectam, vitam habeant innocentem, auctorem conditionis suæ ac redemptionis agnoscant, resurrecturos se ac secundum sua opera judicandos intelligant; et quia ex vitiatæ naturæ contactu nostræ voluntatis habet† fragilitas ut lædatur, suæ benignitatis præstet pietas, ut placetur: per dominum nostrum I. C. etc.

Ante Nominà.

Deus, cuius tam immensa est bonitas quam potestas, præsta quod iustis polliceris accipere: quod reis minaris evadere, veraciter te credere, rationabiliter confiteri, salubriter conversari, si‡ quies adridat te colere, si temptatio ingruat non negare, tem-

* i. e. Exhortatio præfatoria; proxime præcessit symbolum Nicænum.
† Cod.: habit. ‡ Cod.: sit.

porariæ vitæ necessariis abundare, æternis gaudiis non carere; per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

Post Nomina.

Sanctificata* omnipotens deus, ea quæ a te ordinata sunt placabiliter dignatus†, libens suscipe quod offerimus, et clemens indulgeas quod *precamur.*‡ Sanctorum tuorum nos gloriosa merita ne in pœnam veniamus excusent, defunctorum fidelium animæ quæ beatitudine gaudent nobis opitulentur. Qui consolatione indigent ecclesiæ precibus absolvantur, *eorumque*§ oblatio, quorum ante altare tuum nomina recitantur, ita sit in tuis oculis placita, ut illis sit beneficiis copiosa; per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

Osculum Pacis.

Dona nobis domine deus noster in custodienda pace tuum donum tuumque depositum custodire, et sic in omnibus sequi quam ipse jubes et tribuis caritatem, ut in aliis culpas noverimus odisse non animas, finem optare crimini non saluti. Sic cunctis concordia sit amori, ut discordiam nec inferre ulli liceat nec referre; per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

Contestatio.

Dignum et iustum est, omnipotens pater, tibi semper gratias agere, te super omnia diligere, pro omnibus te laudare, cuius munere cunctis hominibus imaginis tuæ dignitas conceditur: in natura æternitatis facultas dignatur: in anima libertas arbitrii præstatur: in vita felicitas baptismi offertur: in gratia hereditas cæli promittitur: in innocentia utilitas remedii servatur: in pœnitentia bonitatis venia, iniquitatis pœna proponitur; ut abundantius in omnes homines dei pietas nec in malitia(m) velit degenerare‖ quos condidit, nec in ignorantia perire quos docuit, nec in supplicio permanere quos diligit, nec a regno discedere

* Cod.: Sanctifica tua.
‡ Cod.: lætamur.
‖ Cod.: vellit degenere.
† Cod.: plagabilitate dignatur.
§ Cod.: quorumque.

quos redemit. Ante cuius conspectum omnes angeli non cessant clamare dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.

Item Contestatio.

Dignum et iustum est nos tibi semper gratias agere, trinitas deus; cuius nos potestas verbo creavit, per meritum nostrum * offensa damnavit, per filium pietas liberavit, per baptismum et pœnitentiam ad cœlos vocavit; cui merito omnes: Sanctus, sanctus.

Post Sanctus dices:

Deus,—qui nos cælestium nunc quidem†: hymnum tibi vis offerre sed mentem etiam sacram ‡ et angelorum tam loca tenere quam carmina, dona ut, qui supernarum virtutum concentum in tua prædicatione sumimus, etiam superioris vitæ affectum ex correctione sumamus: illa domini nostri Jesu Christi quæ in memoriam passionis suæ tradidit verba dicturi per dominum n. I. Chr. etc.

(*Verba institutionis.*)

Qui pridie, etc.

Collectio.

Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, deus et pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, tu de cælis tuis propitius affavens hoc sacrificium nostrum indulgentissima pietate prosequere. Descendat domine plenitudo maiestatis, divinitatis, pietatis, virtutis, benedictionis et gloriæ tuæ super hunc panem et super hunc calicem, et fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in transformationem § corporis et sanguinis domini, ut quicumque ex hoc pane et ex hoc calice libaverimus sumamus nobis monumentum fidei, symbolum dile-

* Cod.: per mereto nostro.
† Cod.: numquid.
‡ Cod.: offerri sed meretum et sacrum.
§ Cod.: transformatione.

ctionis*, tranquillam† spem resurrectionis atque immortalitatis æternæ in tuo filique tui ac‡ (spiritus sancti consortio). §

(Excipiunt hæc quæ in fragmento Missæ primæ (Codici tertiæ) leguntur:)

Ante orationem dominicam.

. . . (invo)cato sancto-nomine suo iubeat liberari, et iam eos nostris precibus adiuvemus, qui ignorantes adhuc iter verum a diabolo in erroribus sæculi detinentur, ut omnes agnitione suæ maiestatis inluminet: per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, cuius mandata retinentes oramus et dicimus:

(*Oratio dominica:*

Pater noster, qui es in cœlis, etc.)

Post orationem dominicam.

Libera domine, libera nos ab omni malo, et constitue nos in omni opere bono, qui vivis et regnas cum patre et spiritu sancto in secula seculorum. Amen.

Post communionem.

Spirituli esca haustuque recreati omnipotentem deum patrem debita gratiarum actione veneremur per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium suum viventem manentemque secum cum spiritu sancto in æterna secula seculorum. Amen.

Collectio.

Exaudi nos deus pater omnipotens et præsta quæ petimus per dominum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum.

* Cod.: sincerem dilectiones.
† Cod.: tranquilla.
‡ Cod. habet tantum: filique tui hac.
§ Confer supra formulam Missalis Gothici ad festum circumcisionis.

Benedictio.

Sit domine miseratione tua digna et misericordia* vox petentum; cunctos respiciens singulos non repellens† hoc votivum nobis facias, quod necessarium esse cognoscis, ne aliud nostra intemperantia studeat petere, quam tua præsciat convenire: per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

* Cod.: Sit domine meseratio tua digna misericordia.

† Cod.: cunctus respiciens jn singulus non repelles, h. v. n. faciens.

II. EX MISSA V.

Conte

Textus Codicis.

. . . . res gratiæ debitores, jugi continuatione, ueneremur, seu cum publica præce sacra adolemus altaria, sive cum secretis mentium penetralibus ineffabilia dicta quæ feceris, æstimantes tacito fovemus adfectu*. justæ enim vox tuæ rex gentium . quis non timebit . et magnificabit nomen tuum, nullæ quidem nobis adhuc cythare personant† . sancti tui . qui bestiam sæculi huius, concordia virtutum perseverante uicerint‡ nullum de nobis Moysi canticum, qui inter fluctus adhuc istius sæculi uolutamur§ . nulla uox angelorum nisi forte laudare nos possunt, qui adesse nobis . possent, cum fili tui dilectissimi corpus sacramus et sanguinem, sed pia cura pro populo et sancta pro salute plebis oratio . et mens cultui intenta divino si non potest maiestatem tanti operis explecare, nititur tamen usum concessi muneris frequentare||, quis enim | possit perfuncturio sensu, divina tua præterire munera, tu corruptibili ‴ limo lutoque solubili spiritu vitæ insufflare dignatus es, hominem fecisti esse quod limos est . materiamque mortalem, ad imaginem similitudinemque tuam spiritali uiuificasti uigore naturæ, ut pigram humum hebetemque limum igneus uigor . intus animaret . agilisque motu venæ tepentis . caro nostra

* M. *continuationem* intelligit de sacrificio Christi in missa continuato: *secretis* et *tacito* nil dubitat quin referantur ad canonem missæ; *ineffabilia dicta* ad verba institutionis et transubstantiationis.

† Ad Ps. 136. et captivitatem Babylonicam spectat.

‡ *Qui* redundare, aut verbum finitum deesse, totum vero colon ad martyres spectare Monio exploratum est. *Bestiam seculi hujus* iste ad supplicium martyrum refert qui bestiis objiciebantur.

§ *Moysis canticum*, captivitatis scilicet Ægyptiacæ symbolum, similem ecclesiæ statum indicare alucinatur.

|| Misere hæc omnia a Monio vexata, qui voce *possunt* in *possumus* mutata hanc efficit sententiam: Nos interdum quidem laudare te possumus, sed sacrificium missæ cum angelorum hymno, i. e. libere et elata voce, offerre nobis non licet, ob persecutionem scilicet. Ad liberum hunc Dei cultum, tunc quidem impeditum, verba jam sequentia trahit: mens, si non potest majestatem tanti operis explicare nititur tamen usum concessi muneris frequentare: i. e., si nostrum mystagogum sequeris: quia missam non possumus recitare alta voce et cantu comitante, dicimus saltem, quantum persecutio nos sinit, missam secretam.

(COD. VII[a].)

statio.

Textus Restitutus.

(Dignum et iustum est nos tibi ... gratias agere .....) .... res gratiæ debitores jugi continuatione veneremur, seu cum publica prece sacra adolemus altaria, sive cum secretis mentium penetralibus ineffabilia *dictu* quæ feceris æstimantes tacito fovemus adfectu.* Justæ enim viæ tuæ, rex gentium. Quis non timebit et magnificabit nomen tuum? Nullæ quidem nobis adhuc citharæ personant†, *ut sanctis tuis* qui bestiam seculi huius concordia virtutum perseverante uicerint: nullum nobis Moysi canticum, qui inter fluctus adhuc istius seculi volutamur: nulla vox angelorum, nisi forte laudare *nobiscum* possunt qui adesse nobis possent, cum filii tui dilectissimi corpus sacramus et sanguinem. Sed pia cura pro populo et sancta pro salute plebis oratio et mens cultui intenta divino, si non potest maiestatem tanti operis explicare, nititur tamen usum concessi muneris frequentare.‡ Quis enim possit perfunctorio sensu divina tua præterire munera? Tu corruptibili limo lutoque solubili spiritum vitæ insufflare dignatus es, hominem fecisti esse quod limus est, materiamque mortalem ad imaginem similitudinemque tuam spiritali vivificasti vigore naturæ, ut pigram humum hebetemque limum igneus vigor intus animaret, agilisque motu venæ tepentis caro nostra vivèsceret. Quid

* h. e. sive publice coram populo sive soli preces facimus.

† Hæc et quæ sequuntur ad illustrem Apocalypseos locum xiv. et xv. referuntur. Ibi (xiv. 2, 3.) de sanctis agnum comitantibus dicitur: *ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν καὶ ᾄδουσιν ὡς ᾠδὴν καινὴν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου*, etc. Quæ vero in missa præcedunt ad verbum expressa sunt ex iis quæ paullo post (xv. 1—4.) ibi leguntur, de iis qui bestiam vicerint: *τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου ... ἔχοντας κιθάρας του θεοῦ. Καὶ ᾄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως ... λέγοντες· Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. δίκαιαι, καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου*; Angelorum canticum denique, ad quod respicitur in iis quæ in liturgia sequuntur, capite xvi. continetur.

‡ Hæc omnia rhetorico modo simplicia illa antiquissimi Christianorum cultus verba exprimunt: Gratias agimus tibi et te glorificamur, non ut debemus, sed ut possumus.

Textus Codicis.

uiuesceret, quid sumus . et quantum eruemus* | huic limo leges . huic limo profetarum oracula angelorum ministeria militarunt, huic limo ipse dominus Ihesus labores miseratus humanos . cruce sui corporis triumphavit, quid loquar ad tuorum cineres martyrum torqueri incorporeas potestates, urit hic limos quos flamma non tangit, torquet fauilla quos ungulæ pœna non inuenit . auditur gemitus quorum tormenta non cernimus†, et hæc quum magna parui laboris præmia, infilex uoluptas quod eicit misera caro . quid sibi inuidet . de cœlo se revocat, et luto reddit . nec hoc mirum sit erra‡ præponderat . sed quia tu domine deus pater omnipotens . in tui unigeniti levatus corpore cælum nos separare § iussisti . ne quæso . patiar ui perire, nobis misericordiam tuam satis sit quod inclusa corpore anima in leges misera . transit alienas generisque pœna communi pro errore unius est persoluta | amiserimus certe prærogatiuam naturæ non amittamus redemptionis tuæ gratiam, mercem igitur domine tuam tibi serua, quam fili tui dilectissimi tibi corpore conparasti, nihil huic carni debemus et sanguini jussumque dominicæ redemptionis . ut quemadmodum scriptum est, simus eius qui a mortuis resurrexit, merito tibi.

* Conjecit M. *erimus* vel *eruimus:* illud tamen præfert in dissertatione de codicis orthographia.

† Hoc in loco explicando in tantam abit insaniam mystagogus, ut verbis suis paululum contractis quantum fieri potest utendum mihi videatur. Scito ergo lector hæc omnia ad persecutionem Christianorum tum sævientem spectare, quo et pulchram illam clausulam trahit orationis "ante nomina" quam supra dedimus; in qua omissis quæ proxime præcedunt, "si quies adridat (h. e. rebus secundis) te colere," verba: "si temptatio ingruat (h. e. rebus adversis) non negare," de temptatione persecutionis dicta esse affirmat. Hoc autem nostro loco, si Monio credas, martyrium Sanctorum Lugduni anno 177 peractum, et ipsa celeberrima illa ac sanctissima Lugdunensium Epistola ab Eusebio laudata evidenter significatur. Pro *incorporeæ potestates* si legis "corporeæ potestates," habes magistratus gentiles, πολιτικὰς ἐξουσίας. *Limus* vero nil est nisi limus Rhodani in quem, epistola illa testi. cineres martyrum conjecti sunt.

‡ Monius: h. e. *æra.*

§ Mendum hic suspicatur Monius.

Textus Restitutus.

sumus, et quantum *meruimus!** Huic limo leges, huic limo prophetarum oracula, angelorum ministeria militarunt, huic limo ipse dominus Iesus, labores miseratus humanos, cruce sui corporis triumphavit.

Quid loquar ad tuorum cineres martyrum torqueri incorporeas potestates? Urit hic limus quos flamma non tangit, torquet favilla quos ungulæ pœna non invenit, auditur gemitus quorum tormenta non cernimus.† Et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia! Infelix voluptas! *quo dejicit se* misera caro! quid sibi invidet! de cœlo se revocat et luto reddit. Nec hoc mirum sit, *terra* præponderat. Sed quia tu domine, pater omnipotens, in tui unigeniti levatos corpore cœlum nos *sperare* jussisti, ne quæso *patiare* perire nobis misericordiam tuam. Satis sit quod inclusa corpore anima in leges misera transit alienas, generisque pœna *communis* pro errore unius est persoluta. Amiserimus certe prærogativam naturæ, non amittamus redemptionis tuæ gratiam. Mercem igitur domine tuam tibi serva, quam filii tui dilectissimi tibi corpore comparasti. Nihil huic carni debemus, *sed* sanguini *jussuique* dominicæ redemptionis, ut quemadmodum scriptum est simus ejus qui a mortuis resurrexit. Merito tibi (omnes angeli atque archangeli, Cherubim quoque et Seraphim sine intermissione proclamant dicentes:

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua.)

* *Meruimus*, h. e. quantam divina gratia consecuturi sumus felicitatem: ut paulo post: Et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia.

† Notum est, dæmoniacos sive energumenos ad sanctum aliquid et venerandum adductos fremere, tremere, angi: dæmonesque in iis latentes insævire. *Incorporeæ potestates* sunt dæmones eorum qui a spiritibus impuris possidentur: *hic limus* (i. e. humani corporis reliquiæ, cineres martyrum) *urit* dæmones *quos flamma rogi non tangit, torquet favilla*, ex crematis martyrum corporibus residua, *quos ungulæ pœna* (tormenti notum genus) *non invenit, auditur gemitus* dæmonum, *quorum tormenta non cernimus.*

III. RELIQUÆ CONSECRATIONIS ORATIONES * POST INSTITUTIONIS VERBA DICENDÆ QUOTQUOT IN ILLIS FRAGMENTIS ADSERVANTUR.

1. *In Missa II.* (*Codici IV.*)

Domini ac dei nostri sempiterni gloriam deprecemur orantes, uti hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et sancti spiritus tui rore perfundas; ut accipientibus universis legitima sit eucharistia per Iesum Christum filium tuum deum ac dominum conservatoremque nostrum: cui est apud te domine cum spiritu sancto regnum sempiternum, perpetua divinitas in secula seculorum. Amen.

2. *In Missa III.* (*Cod. V.*)

Recolentes igitur et servantes præcepta unigeniti, deprecamur pater omnipotens, ut his creaturis altario tuo superpositis *spiritum*† sanctificationis infundas; ut per transfusionem cælestis atque invisibilis sacramenti panis hic *mutatus*‡ in carnem et calix translatus in sanguinem sit nobis§ gratia, sit sumentibus medicina. p. d. etc.

3. *In Missa V.* (*Cod. VII.*)

Addit etiam istud edictum‖, ut quotiescunque corpus ipsius sumeretur et sanguis, commemoratio fieret dominicæ passionis: quod nos facientes Iesu Christi fili tui domini ac dei nostri, semper gloriam prædicamus↓, *rogantes* uti hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et sancti spiritus rore perfundas; ut accipientibus universis sit eucharistia vera, pura, legitima: per I. Chr. filium tuum dominum ac deum

* In codice inscribitur (semel secundum Monium, p. 26.), "*Post Secreta*" uti apud Mabillonium semper fere; in missa illa quam dedimus integram *Collectio* dicitur.

† Cod.: Spiritus.

‡ Cod.: mutatur.

§ Cod.: totius.

‖ Hinc probari potest, verba institutionis quæ in perficiendo sacramento recitabantur, extremam hanc evangelicæ relationis partem non necessario continuisse.

↓ Cod.: rogamus.

nostrum, qui vivit et regnat tecum cum spiritu sancto in æterna secula seculorum. Amen.

4. *In Missa VI.* (*Cod. VIII.*)

Respice igitur clementissime pater fili instituta, ecclesiæ mysteria, credentium* munera, a supplicantibus oblata et eroganda supplicantibus: p. d. n.

5. *In Missa VIII.* (*Cod. X.*)

Miserere domine supplicibus tuis, et *petitiones* humiliatæ tibi plebis placatus *indulge.*† Moveat te ad misericordiam imminens nobis te deserente discrimen. Aspice, quæsumus, lacrimas nostras ubertate fletuum vix cadentes. Audi singultibus interpellata suspiria, et præsta in judicio liberos quos vides in confessione compunctos, et, quos aspicis humiles per reatum, erectos munerare digneris præmio, mitigans . . . . .

* Cod.: credentibus.

† Cod.: peticionis humiliate . . . . intellege.

CAPUT QUINTUM.

LITURGIA ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ.

DE ANTIQUISSIMIS ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ LITURGIIS TESTIMONIA.

Lib. Pontif. in Vita *S. Alexandri* (ab anno 100 ad 106): Hic passionem Domini miscuit in̄ precatione Sacerdotum, quando Missæ celebrantur. (Vignolius, Lib. Pontif. i. p. 21.)

Id. in Vita *S. Xysti* (107—116): Hic constituit ut intra actionem, sacerdote incipiente, populus hymnum decantaret: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, et cetera. (Lib. Pontif. i. p. 23.)

Id. in Vita *Telesphori* (117—127): Hic constituit ut in ingressu sacrificii hymnus diceretur Angelicus, hoc est, Gloria in excelsis Deo, et cetera, tantum nocte Natalis Domini.

In Vita *S. Felicis* (sub Aureliano): Hic constituit supra memorias martyrum missas celebrari (h. e. communionem celebrari ad sepulchra martyrum anniversario martyrii die).

Id. in Vita *S. Melchiadis* (in principio Constantini): Ab eodem die (Dominico) fuit, ut oblationes sacratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi dirigerentur quod declaratur fermentum (fermentum pro conficiendo Pane Eucharistico intra hebdomadem) similiter cui *Siricio* tribuitur.

In Vita *S. Sylvestris* (sub Constantino): Hic constituit chrisma ab episcopo confici (h. e. ut confirmationis ritus ad episcopum solum pertineret). Hic privilegium episcopis dedit ut baptizatum consignarent, propter hæreticas suasiones. Hic

constituit ut baptizatum liniret presbyter chrismate, levatum de aqua, propter occasionem transitus mortis.

In Vita *S. Anastasii* (398): Hic constituit ut quotiescunque Evangelia sancta recitantur, sacerdotes non sederent.

In Vita *S. Innocentii* (402): Hic constituit Sabbato jejunium celebrari, quia Sabbato Dominus in sepulcro jacuit, et discipuli ejus jejunaverunt.

In Vita *S. Cœlestini* (422): Hic constituit ut psalmi David cl. ante sacrificium psallerentur, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum Epistola B. Pauli Apostoli recitabatur, et S. Evangelium, et sic missæ fiebant. Et constituit Gradale post officium ad missas cantari, id est, responsorium in gradibus.

In Vita *S. Leonis* (440—462): Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur *Sanctum sacrificium*, et cetera. (Lib. Pontif. i. p. 152.)

In Vita *Gelasii* (c. 495) in Catalogo Rom. Pontif. apud Blanchin: Fecit et hymnos in modum beati Ambrosii. Fecit et Sacramentorum præfationes canto sermone.

Epistola *Vigilii* Papæ ad Profuturum (a. 538): Ordinem precum in celebritate missarum nullo nos tempore, nulla festivitate significamus habere diversam, sed semper eodem tenore oblata Deo munera consecrare . . . . Quapropter nos ipsius canonicæ precis textum dirigimus subter adjectum, quem Deo propitio ex Apostolica Traditione suscepimus.

Gregorius magnus ad Johannem Episcopum Syracusanum (598), Epp. ix. 12.: Veniens quidam de Sicilia mihi dixit, quod aliqui amici ejus, vel Græci vel Latini nescio, quasi sub zelo sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ de meis dispositionibus murmurarent, dicentes . . . . . quia Orationem Dominicam mox post canonem dici statuistis. Cui ego respondi, quia in nullo eorum aliam ecclesiam secuti sumus. . . . . Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus: quia mos Apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens visum est ut precem quam scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus. Sed et Dominica oratio

apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo Sacerdote.

Confer Johannis Diaconi Vitam Greg. M. ii. 20.: Super corpora beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Missarum solemnia celebrari decrevit, acquisitis numerosissimis olivetis, quorum summam in tabulis marmoreis præ foribus ejusdem basilicæ annotavit. Luminaria superaddidit, officia sedula deputavit. De sepultura juxta Ecclesiam commodam sperare prohibuit. Septem ex defensoribus honore regionario decorandos indixit. *Alleluja* extra Pentecostes tempora dici ad missas fecit. Subdiaconos exspoliatos procedere statuit. *Kyrie eleison* cantari præcepit: et orationem Dominicam mox post Canonem super hostiam censuit recitari.

I.

CANON GREGORIANUS

UT NUNC LEGITUR,

SECUNDUM DECRETUM CONCILII TRIDENTINI,

PRÆMISSA PRÆFATIONE.

(*Præfatio Missæ Fidelium.*)

DOMINUS vobiscum
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda:
Habemus ad dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro:
Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates, Cœli cœlorumque Virtutes ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt Cœli et Terra gloria tua.
Osanna in excelsis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini;
Osanna in excelsis.*

* Osanna et Benedictus posterioris ætatis additamenta esse creduntur. Dixerim potius, ea librariorum culpa irrepsisse qui non meminissent hæc

(*Canon Missæ.*)

Te igitur, clementissime Pater per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia inlibata. In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum* una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro (illo) et antistite nostro (illo) *et omnibus orthodoxis atque Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Fidei cultoribus.*†

Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio *pro quibus tibi offerimus vel*‡ qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.§ Communicantes

verba hoc loco scripta esse utpote a Choro post preces peractas cantanda, cum ad Communionem invitetur. Quo cum instituto convenit mos Romæ nunc in Sacello Pontificio observatus, secundum quem inter Sanctum et Benedictum sistitur cantus dum perficitur Sacramentum.

* Hæc verba Optatus Milevit. (circa 370) respicere creditur, cum Donatistas ita adloquitur: "Offerre vos dicitis pro ecclesia toto orbe terrarum diffusa."

† Ultima hæc verba in multis iisque antiquissimis MSS. non inveniuntur: desunt etiam in Canone Sacramentarii Gelasiani, qui est ipse textus Canonis Gregorii. (Bona, ii. 11. § 4.)

‡ Desunt in omnibus fere antiquissimis MSS. Radulphus vidit additamentum ideo factum esse, quia cessaverat populi oblatio.

§ Tota hæc oratio, *Memento Domine* (quod respondet Græcis Μνήσθητι Κύριε), est quæ solenni voce *Oratio Diaconi* dicitur, vel Oratio Nominum, vel "Super diptycha." Legebat eam Diaconus ex diptychis, ut commendaret precibus populi eos qui oblationes fecissent. (Bona, ii. 8. § 5.) S. Hieronymus (in Ezech.) his verbis eam consuetudinem respicit, "Ut publice Diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina." Innocentius I., in Epistola ad Decentium, Episcopum Eugubinum, quæ scripta est anno 416, ad eundem usum respicit, et haud dubie ad eadem verba quæ hic leguntur: "De nominibus vero recitandis antequam precem sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua oratione commendet, quam superfluum sit, et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis, ut cujus hostiam necdum Deo offeras ejus ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit

et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit Panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, *et* elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit dedit*que** discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et

nihil." Cavendum igitur Diacono esse ait, ne nomina ante recitet, quam a Presbytero absolutæ sint preces qua oblationes commendet. Legenda igitur erant nomina postquam Sacerdos mentionem fecerat Papæ, vel Papæ et Episcopi, h. e. antequam ad verbum "Communicantes" perveniret. At post hoc verbum, cum diebus festis Christi inde a Nativitate usque ad Ascensionem omnibus festi ipsius mentio interponeretur, hoc fere modo:

> Communicantes *et diem sacratissimum celebrantes* . . . . . *sed* et memoriam venerantes,

vox *Communicantes* quo facilius inveniretur, majori initiali distincta est atque a librariis in initio versus posita. Quæ vox paullatim a sacerdotibus tamquam novæ periodi initium cum iis quæ sequebantur conjuncta est. At tali sententiam construendi modo adversatur grammatica vel sequioris ævi: neque multo minor est difficultas construendi verba, *una cum famulo*, etc., vel cum *ecclesia* vel cum *offerimus*. Textus igitur ita est restituendus:

> In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia . . . . toto orbe terrarum, [una] cum famulo tuo Papa nostro . . et Antistite nostro . . communicantes, et (sed et) memoriam venerantes. . .

* Vetustiores libri MSS. *elevatis* omissa particula *et:* iidem *dedit* pro *deditque*.

manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est; accipiens et hunc præclarum Calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens benedixit dedit*que* discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui Domini *Dei** nostri tam beatæ Passionis nec non et ab inferis Resurrectionis sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.†

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectum divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

‡ Memento etiam Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum

* *Dei* add. omnes præter Gelas. Gerberti: sed facilius addi quam omitti poterat.

† Verba, *Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, "et cetera," addita esse a Leone Magno Liber Pontificalis testatur: similia tradit Walafridus. Alii hæc ita interpretantur, quasi Leo totam hanc orationem, *Unde et memores*, addidisset: alii omnia quæ inde ab illis verbis in Canone leguntur Leonis esse opinantur. Prior sententia est absurda: altera non multum a vero abest, ut infra demonstrabimus.

‡ Est quidem antiquissima oratio illa, *Memento etiam Domine*, at solummodo in *Missis pro defunctis*. Veterrimus igitur codex Vaticanus et Sacramentarium Gelasianum eam omittunt in Canone generali. Daniel v. cl. qui idem sentit, optime hæc vetustissimi libri Sangallensis verba affert: "Si fuerit ut nomina defunctorum recitentur, dicit Sacerdos: Memento,"

[illorum et illarum] qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus Sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consortium non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et præstas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oremus:

Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere: Pater noster qui es in cœlis, Sanctificetur nomen tuum, Adveniat regnum tuum, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

* Libera nos quæsumus Domine ab omnibus malis præteritis præsentibus et futuris, intercedente beata et gloriosa semper virgine, Dei genitrice Maria, cum beatis Apostolis tuis

etc. Idem igitur statuendum de iis quæ sequuntur: *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, etc., quippe quæ precem illam continuent.

* Quum S. Gregorius ipse dixerit, se hoc loco inseruisse Orationem Dominicam, apparet, collectam *Libera nos*, qua ad ultima hujus orationis verba respicitur, Gregorio antiquiorem non esse.

· Vetusti libri ante verba, *et omnibus sanctis* (quæ in Codice Vaticano desunt), nomina sanctorum propriorum inserunt, unde Embolismus dicta est hæc oratio. Sacramentarium Gelasianum addit, *et beatis Confessoribus*. Ad doxologiam quod attinet, vetustissimi libri habent, "Deus in unitate Spiritus Sancti," pro, "in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus."

Petro et Paulo atque Andrea . . . . . *et omnibus Sanctis:* da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per *eundem* Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

* Pax domini sit semper vobiscum:
Et cum spiritu tuo.

* Indicium hoc est, jam incipere Communionem.

II.

CANON S. GREGORII

SECUNDUM

VETUSTISSIMOS LIBROS RESTITUTUS.

II.

CANON S. GREGORII

SECUNDUM VETUSTISSIMOS LIBROS RESTITUTUS.

Orationes Sacerdotis.

TE igitur clementissime pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia inlibata: in primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum: [una] cum famulo tuo Papa nostro (illo)

communicantes, et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu

Preces Diaconi.

Post nomen Papæ a Sacerdote pronunciatum Diaconus offerentium nomina recitat eorumque nomine hanc dicit orationem:

Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

In Sacramentario Gelasiano in memoriam eorum qui pium Ecclesiæ reliquerant legatum, post verba "incolumitates suæ" hæc inserebantur secundum Codicem Gerberti:

Memento etiam Domine et animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium Catholicorum in Christo quiescentium, qui nos præcesserunt, illorum et illarum, qui per eleemosynam et confessionem tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

Christi sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini* nostri Jesu Christi: Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit Panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum Calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas item tibi gratias agens benedixit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores †, Domine, nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui Domini ‡ nostri tam beatæ Passionis nec non et ab inferis Resurrectionis sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Pa-

* Ita Othobon. c. vulg. Alter Vatic. et Gelas. addunt *Dei*.

† Vulgatam tuetur Gelas. Gerberti.

‡ Addunt cum vulg. *Dei*, omnes præter Gelas. Gerberti.

Preces Diaconi.

nem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectum divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus:

Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere: Pater noster qui es in cœlis, Sanctificetur nomen tuum, Adveniat regnum tuum, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Libera nos quæsumus Domine ab omnibus malis præteritis

Preces Diaconi.

(*In Officiis pro Defunctis.*)

Memento etiam Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum [illorum et illarum] qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia et cum omnibus Sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consortium non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et præstas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Orationes Sacerdotis.

præsentibus et futuris, intercedente beata et gloriosa semper virgine, Dei genitrice Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea . . . . . da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum:
Respondetur:
Et cum spiritu tuo.

(*Communio incipit cleri et populi; dum cantatur:*)

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi:
Miserere nobis.

III.

PRECES EUCHARISTICÆ ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ QUARTI SECULI.

Præfatio.

SURSUM corda . . . . . .
Dignum est justum est.
Vere dignum est justum est . . . . .

(*Quæ sequuntur variant secundum arbitrium episcopi vel secundum Librum Sacramentorum; terminatur vero semper oratio verbis Hymni:*)

Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua.

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificii inlibata. In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris: cum famulo tuo Episcopo [Papa] nostro [illo] communicantes, ... et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ [Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi], sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum

tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias, atque in omnibus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi:

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit Panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum Calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens benedixit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi filii tui Domini nostri tam beatæ Passionis nec non et ab inferis Resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri justi tui Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech:

[Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectum divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumserimus omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur.]

Per Christum Dominum nostrum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratio Dominica:

Pater noster . . . . in temptationem:
Sed libera nos a malo.

Osculum pacis.

(*Incipit communio cleri et populi, choro canente:*)

Osanna in excelsis:
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

(*Inter communionem cantatur a choro et populo:*)

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi:
Miserere nobis.

Benedictio.

Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum:
Et cum spiritu tuo.

APPENDIX.

FRAGMENTA CODICIS PALIMPSESTI CASINENSIS N. 345, AD SACRAMENTARIUM GREGORII MAGNI SPECTANTIA,

QUANTUM LEGI POTUERUNT.

Foll. XXIX. XXX. continent Præfationem duabus Columnis scriptam.

I.

Legi non potuit.

II.

Vere dignum et justum est æque et salutare
nos tibi semper et
ubique gratias agere dñe
sancte pater omps
eterne ds per Xpm
dnm nostrum.
Per quem majestatem
tuam laudunt an-
geli adorant domi-
nationes tremunt
potestates
Celi celorumque virtu-
tes ac beata sera-
phim socia exultatio-
ne concelebrant.
Cum quibus et nostras
voces ut admitti
jubeas deprecamur
supplici confessione
dicentes Scus Scus
Scus Dns

Fol. XXXII. continet Hymnum Ter Sanctus.

I.	II.
Legi non potuit.	Deus Sabbaoth : Pleni sunt coli et terra gloria tua Osanna in excelsis Benedictus qui venit in nomine Dni Osanna in excelsis

Folia XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI. XXXVII. XXXVIII. penitus evanuerunt, si quid revera continuerint.

Fol. XXXIX.*

I.	II.
	(invi)tatur ad nuptias Et cum venerit et pulsaverit confestim (a)periant ei. Beati servi . . . quos eu . . . .
expectantibus dnm	

Fol. XL.

I.	II.
. . . . me nobis salu- taris oblatio et bus indesinenter expi et ab omnibus tueatur adversis p simus. (Rubrica.) Dne sancte da nobis ter . . . . milites det . . . . es ut	Legi non potuit.†

* Scriptum duabus columnis ut missæ fragmenta quæ præcedunt et sequuntur : at missalis partem vix crediderim quæ hic leguntur : est fortasse lectionis pars ex homilia quadam desumta.

† Habemus in fol. XL. Præfationis finem et orationem *ad complendum*, quæ in Sacramentario Gregoriano tertiam et quartam (eamque ultimam) orationem constituunt. Verba :

nobis salutaris oblatio et . . . . (ab omnibus)
indesinenter expi(et nos peccatis)
et ab omnibus tueatur adversis ——

et illa :

Dne sancte da nobis
tór . . . . (si)militor
. . . . . ; ut qui . . . .

facile locum indicabunt quærenti in Menardo vel Muratorio.

I.

qui . . . . . commo
. . . . . nos fa-
. . . . . cet.
(ef)ficiant
. . . . . tiam.

(Rubrica.*)

Collecta.

Deus qui conspicis
quia ex nulla
nostra virtute sub-
sistimus: conce-
de propitius ut
intercessione bea-
ti Martini Confes-
soris tui ‡, contra
omnia adversa muniamur
Per Dnm nrm.

II.

(Rubrica.†)

Hec hostia dne pla-
cationis et laudis
quæsumus ut interveniente
beata Cæcilia martyre,
etc. etc. etc.

Quos præterea in Vaticano codices invenies ad rem liturgicam attinentes, qui perscrutentur non indignos, hi fere sunt. Cod. Reg. 12. Alex. 12. Vatic. 82. 83. — Archiv. secret. 144. 145.

* Debebat inscribi III. Id. Nov. Natale S. Martini. Cf. Menard. p. 142.

† Debebat inscribi X. Kal. Dec. Natale S. Cæciliæ. Deesse videtur *Collecta*. Quæ sequitur oratio apud Menardum inscribitur *Super Oblata*.

‡ Ed. Men. addit: *atque pontificis*, quæ codex palimps. non habere videtur.

APPENDICES.

A.

APPENDIX

AD

VOLUMEN PRIMUM ANALECTORUM.

JACOBI BERNAYSII EPISTOLA CRITICA AD BUNSENIUM.

ADDUNTUR

EJUSDEM IN HERACLITI FRAGMENTA AB HIPPOLYTO IN REFUTATIONIS LIBRO NONO SERVATA ADNOTATIONES.

CAROLO BUNSENIO S. P. D. JACOBUS BERNAYSIUS.

Hospitalia tecta Tua relicturus circumspicere cœpi, quonam modo et Tibi gratum animum meum probarem et consuetudinis nostræ quasi monumentum aliquod, quantumvis exiguum et caducum, erigerem. Opportune statim sese obtulit menti meæ liber ille Philosophumenôn secundum codicem e Græcia Parisios allatum nuperrime Oxonii editus. Isto in codice cum incognita quædam Heracliti Ephesii fragmenta contineri ante aliquot annos Parisiis versatus comperirem: per varias, quas Tibi coram narravi, causas reliquias illas philosophi inter eos, qui ante Platonis ætatem floruerunt, facile principis in meum usum convertere non licuit. Oxoniensis igitur editionis rumor simul atque in Germaniam allatus est, omni, quo potui, modo efficere studui, ut libri istius exemplum cito nanciscerer. Neque vero tarda bibliopolarum vehicula ardenti desiderio meo respondebant, jamque ardorem philosophico aliquo ἐπιφωνήματι restinguere cœperam: cum ecce Tu, qua es erga me benignitate atque benevolentia, et Græcum librum mihi transmittis, et opus Tuum addis de illo libro conscriptum. Id cum, aliis in quibus versarer studiis relictis omnibus, diligenter perlegerem: primum funditus a Te falsam istam opinionem everti videbam, ex qua Origenem Philosophumenôn scriptorem esse Francogallus editor et in indice et in præfatione libri asseverare haud dubitavit. Deinde ab Hippolyto Portus Romani sæculo III. episcopo conditos esse Philosophumenôn libros tam simplicibus validisque argumentis evincis, ut omnes Tibi adstipulaturos esse confidendum sit, quicunque veritatis et capaces sint et tenaces, illamque, ubi semel eam cognoverint, candide atque animose sine meticulosa dubitandi significatione profiteri didicerint. Denique nubem quæstionum difficultatumque, quæ ex libro Hippolyteo tanquam ex Pandoræ pyxide provolant, lumine eruditionis atque sagacitatis Tuæ collustras, plurimaque, quæ prorsus nova atque inaudita nunc primum in hominum notitiam perveniunt, cum vetustis diuque cognitis ita conjungis, ut alternis nova vetustis et novis vetusta lucem afferant. Neque in enucleandis digerendisque rebus opera tua constitit; verum etiam ad verba scri-

ptoris singula multifariam corrupta haud raro accessisti, eaque vel feliciter divinando correxisti vel ex arte tractando viam, qua futurus corrector insisteret, monstrasti atque complanasti. Hoc igitur præclaro exemplo Tuo excitatus Tuisque laboribus adjutus equidem aliqua eorum, quæ ad emendanda verba Hippolytea pertinere videntur, in has pagellas conjeci. Quo in negotio ita versatus sum, ut memor præcepti Salomoniani: *μὴ μεταθῇς ὅρια αἰώνια* intra criticæ philologiæ fines me continerem neque in theologiæ vel hæresiologiæ campum evagarer, nisi ubi id propter naturam verborum, de quibus agendum esset, non possem non facere.

Ac primum quidem ut de conditione vel mala vel bona unici illius codicis Parisini, quem Oxoniensis editio expressit, certa quadam via judicium fieri posset, optimum visum est, eo uti adjumento, quod auspicatissime ipsa Hippolytei operis conformatio suppeditat, quanquam Millerus cum magno editionis suæ detrimento fere nihil inde profecit. Cernitur autem illud in ea ratione, qua decimus liber cum novem reliquis continetur. Etenim in ultimo illo libro id agit scriptor ut, antequam suam ipsius doctrinam lectoribus proponat, breviter in eorum memoriam et philosophorum et hæreticorum placita revocet, quæ per novem priores libros uberius exposita sint. Quod consilium suum ipse initio libri decimi his verbis profitetur p. 312. 24.: *Συμπεριλαβόντες τοίνυν τὰ πάντων τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφῶν δόγματα ἐν τέσσαρσι βιβλίοις, τὰ δὲ τοῖς αἱρεσιάρχαις* [*δεδοκημένα*]* *ἐν πέντε, νῦν τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον ἐν ἑνὶ*† *ἐπιδείξομεν, ἀνακεφα-*

* Recte supplevit Millerus.

† *ἐν ἑνί*] cod. *ἕνα*, quod non cum Millero in *ἑνὶ* mutandum sed disjunctim sic scribendum est: *ἐν α'*, vel plenis litteris: *ἐν ἑνί*. Etiam alibi ex numerorum siglis menda orta sunt velut, quod perspexit Millerus, p. 318. 24.: *καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ἁπλᾶ λέγοντες εἶναι τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁπλοῦν εἶναι νενομίκασιν*, ubi importunum istud *δὲ* irrepsit ex siglo quaterni numeri *δ'*, a quo ne in heroico quidem versu abstinuit codicis nostri librarius, p. 313. 71.: *δ' τῶν πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε*. Alio vero in loco non minus ineptum *δὲ* non ex siglo numeri quaterni sed ex vocabulo denarii numeri mutilato, *δὲ κα*, originem duxit. Exstat is quidem locus in libro decimo capite de Monoimo Arabe, p. 326. 30.: *Ὅταν οὖν, φησὶ, ῥάβδον λέγῃ Μωϋσῆς στρεφομένην εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὰ πάθη καταλέγει τὸν κόσμον, τοῦ ἴσα ἀλληγορουμένως, οὐδὲ πλειόνων δὲ παθῶν ἐσχημάτισεν*. Ibi id quidem recte egit Millerus, quod huic enuntiato emendando locum *παράλληλον* e libro octavo adhibuit hunc, p. 271. 83.: *Ὅταν οὖν, φησὶ, ῥάβδον λέγῃ Μωϋσῆς στρεφομένην ποικίλως εἰς τὰ πάθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἅτινα, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἀλληγόρου σύμβολα, οὐκ εἰς πλείονα πάθη τῶν δώδεκα σχηματίζει τὴν ῥάβδον, κ. τ. λ.* Unde id sane apparet, in loco libri decimi pro *τὸν κόσμον* scribendum esse cum Millero *τοῦ κόσμου* atque *πλειόνων* mutandum in *πλείονα τῶν*. Idem vero Millerus cum etiam pro *δὲ παθῶν* ex libro octavo sub-

λαιούμενοι πρῶτον τὰ πᾶσι δεδοκημένα. Omnino autem diversa excerpendi ratione in prioribus quattuor et quinque posterioribus

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stituit δώδεκα παθῶν, pœnarum quibus Ægyptii afflicti sunt aut nullum aut falsum calculum sese iniisse prodit. Neque enim Tu, qui habitas in Bibliis, ignoras *decem* pœnas Ægyptiorum in Exodo enumerari, non duodecim, idque optime convenit cum Monoimi doctrina, quæ fere tota denario numero nititur. Quapropter in libro decimo pro δὲ παθῶν scribendum est δέκα πα^ῶν, octavi vero libri δώδεκα corrigendum in δέκα. Atque hæc quidem breviter dicta sunto de mendis, quæ ex numerorum siglis manarunt. Non minus breviter simile corruptelarum genus attingam, quod posteriorem capitis de Justino partem, p. 154—168., obscuram reddidit. Ibi enim quater $\overline{ουνος}$, quod est compendium scripturæ vocabuli οὐρανός usitatissimum, cum $\overline{ανος}$, non magis raro vocabuli ἄνθρωπος compendio, permutatur: p. 154. 78. τὸ πνεῦμα γάρ μου ἐνδέδεται εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, scribendum ἀνθρώπους; p. 155. 21. ἀρχὴν κακῶν ἐποίησε τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, scribendum τῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; p. 155. 32. ἵνα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἀκούσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, scribendum ἀνθρώποις; p. 158. 1. οὐκ ἂν ἐκόλαζε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, scribendum ἀνθρώποις. Etenim in quattuor illis locis agitur de spiritu, quem *homini* inspiravit Elohim secundum Justini sententiam. Quod cum ex universa ejus doctrina colligitur, tum in primis per eum locum demonstratur, quem infra scripsi: p. 152. 20. τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὖν ἐποίησαν [cod. ἐποίησε] σύμβολον τῆς ἑνότητος αὐτῶν καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ κατατίθενται τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις εἰς αὐτὸν [cod. ἑαυτὸν, correxit Millerus], Ἐδὲμ μὲν τὴν ψυχήν, Ἐλωεὶμ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα. Hujus rei aliquid in eo solo loco, quem secundum posui, p. 155. 21., intellexit editor. Consulto autem dixi, aliquid tantum eum intellexisse. Nam ibi, admisso ἀνθρώποις, necessario τοῦ mutandum esse in τῷ, id quidem prætervidit. Aliorsum vero detorquetur idem vocabuli οὐρανὸς compendium in particula capitis de Docetis libri quinti, quam loco libri decimi παραλλήλῳ usus persanabo:

V. p. 264. 1.

Ὁ δὲ αἰὼν οὗτος ὁ τρίτος τοὺς χαρακτῆρας βλέπων πάντας ἀθρόως τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον κάτω σκότος κατειλημμένους, τήν τε δύναμιν τοῦ σκότους οὐκ ἀγνοῶν καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄφθονον, οὐκ εἴασεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς φωτεινοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους κάτω κατασπασθῆναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπέταξε τοῖς αἰῶσι. Στερεώσας οὖν κάτωθεν "καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός."

X. p. 324. 92.

Ὁ γὰρ [scr. δὲ] τρίτος αἰὼν, ὁ ἑαυτὸν τριπλασιάσας, ὁρῶν τοὺς χαρακτῆρας αὐτοῦ πάντας κατασπωμένους εἰς τὸ κάτω σκότος, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τήν τε τοῦ σκότους δεινότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφελότητα, ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν καὶ μέσον πήξας διεχώρισεν ἀναμέσον τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ φωτός.

Quæ si inter se contuleris, vel me non monente, videbis, in libro v. 6. sic

libris utitur Hippolytus. Nam quod ad quattuor istos priores* attinet, quorum ad nos nil pervenit nisi primus liber, qui Origenianorum operum corpori per errorem insertus erat, et particula quarti, a qua noster codex incipit: horum in libro decimo nulla exstat, quæ quidem jure sic appellari possit, *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*. Neque enim tali nomine digna est jejuna ista philosophorum, quorum placita in libro primo copiose exposita erant, enumeratio, præsertim cum neque ipsius Hippolyti neque eorum scriptorum verbis comprehensa sit, a quibus singula primi libri capita repetita videntur, sed pæne tota ex aliquo Sexti Empirici loco descripta. Itaque si quis verbis initio libri decimi positis, quæ modo ascripsi, inductus speraverit, posse per *ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν*, quæ ibi promittatur, argumenta certe deperditorum secundi et tertii librorum recuperari: is pagellis 311—314. vel semel perlustratis vanam spem suam fuisse perspiciet. Nullus igitur fructus, qui ad quattuor priores libros pertineat, cum ex decimo percipiatur: tam varium et multiplicem usum habet decimus ille liber cum ad emendandos tum ad supplendos quinque posteriores, in quibus *ἔλεγχος τῶν αἱρέσεων* continetur, libros, ut minime verear pronuntiare, illum, si diligenter atque ex arte pertractetur, vice alterius codicis, ejusque et plenioris et castigatioris, haud uno in loco fungi posse. Id vero ne cupidius dixisse videar, age aliqua libri decimi capita cum capitibus quinque posteriorum librorum componamus et per singula eundo utraque persequamur. Unde id spero effectum iri, ut cum mendosa codicis nostri natura luculentis ipsius Hippolyti testimoniis patefiat, tum vero etiam ubi Hippolyti auxilium nos destituat libertas quædam sapienter audendi benigne ab omnibus concedatur, quicunque et harum rerum periti sint neque aciem mentis suæ obtuserint ignavia judicandi.

Initium autem facimus a capitibus de Ophitis sive Naassenis qui utrobique, et in quinto et in decimo libro, agmen hæreticorum ducunt. Ea capita primum siglis A et B notata ascribam sicut edita sunt a Millero, singulis eorum verbis sic e regione positis ut quæ ex quinto in decimum librum abierint in oculos incurrat. Quod ut etiam apertius reddatur ea verba, quæ utrique capiti communia sunt, in libro

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scribendum esse: *τήν τε δύναμιν τοῦ σκότους οὐκ ἀγνοῶν καὶ τὸ ἀφελὲς (simplicitatem) τοῦ φωτός*, versu autem 9. sic: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπέταξε τοῖς αἰῶσι στερέωμα οὐρανοῦ κάτωθεν*, '*sed æonibus inferne substruxit firmamentum cæli.*'

* Quos ipse Hippolytus Philosophumenôn nomine designare et a reliquis quinque secernere videtur, lib. ix. p. 280. 52.: *ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἔκκειται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Φιλοσοφουμένοις ἡ δόξα Ἡρακλείτου*, quod respicit ad lib. i. p. 10.

quinto distinctis litteris exprimenda curabo. Deinde quæ utroque in loco mutanda sint brevissime in marginibus significabo, atque harum denique mutationum causas e re nata vel uberius vel brevius exponam.

A.

(Lib. V. p. 95. 42.)

Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον[1] τιμῶσιν ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Ἔστι δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἀρσενόθηλυς, καλεῖται δὲ Ἀδάμας παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὕμνοι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόνασι πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι.

p. 95. 50: Διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν, ὡς Γηρυόνην, τριχῇ· Ἔστι γὰρ τούτου, φασὶ, τὸ μὲν νοερὸν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν· καὶ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι τὸν Θεόν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, φησὶ, τὰ νοερὰ καὶ ψυχικὰ καὶ χοϊκὰ, κατεχώρησε[2] καὶ κατ[ῆλθεν εἰς] ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας γεγενημένον· καὶ ἐλάλουν, φησὶν, ὁμοῦ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ πῶν ἰδίων οὐσιῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἕκαστος. Ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ὅλων τρία γένη κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀγγελικὸν, ψυχικὸν, χοϊκόν· καὶ τρεῖς ἐκκλησίαι, ἀγγελικὴ, ψυχικὴ, χοϊκή· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς, ἐκλεκτὴ, κλητικὴ[3], αἰχμάλωτος. Ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ λόγων τὰ κεφάλαια, ἃ

B.

(Lib. X. p. 314. 99.)

Ναασσηνοὶ ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσι τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου· τοῦτον δὲ

τριχῇ διαιροῦσιν. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φασὶ, τὸ μὲν νοερὸν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀδάμαν, καὶ νομίζουσι τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν[4] εἶναι γνῶσιν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι Θεόν. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ νοερὰ καὶ τὰ ψυχικὰ καὶ τὰ χοϊκὰ κεχωρηκέναι εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ὁμοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ λελαληκέναι τὰς τρεῖς οὐσίας τοῖς τρισὶ γένεσι τοῦ παντὸς[5], οὕτω φάσκουσι τριγενῆ, ἀγγελικὸν, ψυχικὸν, χοϊκόν· καὶ τρεῖς εἶναι ἐκκλησίας, ἀγγελικὴν, ψυχικὴν, χοϊκήν· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκλεκτὴ, κλητὴ, αἰχμάλωτος.

Ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς κεφάλαια ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐστὶ

[1] παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον] πατέρα τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ.
[2] κατεχώρησε] Cod. καὶ ἐχώρησε. Scrib.: κεχώρηκε.
[3] κλητικὴ] κλητή.
[4] εἰς αὐτόν] Sententia postulat αὐτοῦ.
[5] παντός. Τούτου φάσκουσι τρία γένη.

φησι παραδεδωκέναι Μαριάμμῃ τὸν Ἰάκωβον τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ἵν' οὖν μήτε Μαριάμμης ἔτι καταψεύδωνται οἱ ἀσεβεῖς μήτε Ἰακώβου κ.τ.λ.

καταλαβεῖν. Ταῦτά φασι παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ Μαριάμνῃ καταψευδόμενοι ἀμφοτέρων.

Jam primum videamus quid in A corrigi potuerit adhibito B. Statim ab initio A 1—4. sicut scripta sunt in codice: Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον τιμῶσι ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου sententiam efficiunt nullam. Millerus autem cum hæc annotaret: 'Lege vel οὗτοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων vel infra προτιμῶσιν,' decimum librum, qui est mos ipsius, neglexit. Nos vero collato B 1. ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσι τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου id agi videmus, ut Ophitæ nullum discrimen inter Hominem et Filium hominis fecisse dicantur. Quod e codicis scriptura nescio an non commodius eruatur quam sic: Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων πατέρα τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τιμῶσι ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. *'Hi tanquam reliquarum omnium rerum patrem eodem in loco honoris habent Hominem et Filium hominis.'* Si cui vero locutio τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τιμᾷν elegantior videbitur quam quæ in Hippolyteum genus dicendi quadret: is adeat p. 281. 94.: Οὕτως Ἡράκλειτος ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ τίθεται καὶ τιμᾷ τὰ ἐμφανῆ τοῖς ἀφανέσιν. — Levioris momenti ea est mutatio quæ ut in A 17. fiat suasimus. Nam cum B 12. exstet κεχωρηκέναι, in A 17. scriptum fuisse κεχώχηκε idque in codicis scripturam καὶ ἐχώρησε (κ᾽ ἐχώρησε) abiisse, veri est similius, quam quod posuit Millerus κατεχώρησε. Denique κλητικὴ quod A 29. legitur cum activam significationem habeat, ineptum esse apparet. Verum est κλητὴ, quod B 19. integrum reperitur. Neque est quod ad confirmandam hanc mutationem Te ego recordari jubeam verborum Matth. xx. 16: πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοὶ, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί.

Hæc igitur sunt in quibus A per B emendatur, non contemnenda quidem sed tamen pauciora, quam quæ in reliquis capitibus inventuri sumus. Pergimus ad B per A emendandum. Quod eo confidentius persequi licet, quo certius ex comparatione duorum capitum cum universorum tum imprimis clausularum (A 30—36., B 20—26.). Tibi mecum jam constare existimo, non aliunde quam ex ipso A excerptum esse B. Atque hoc excerpendi negotio satis festinanter defunctus esse Hippolytus videtur. Neque enim excogitare possum, quanam alia via absurdum istud εἰς αὐτὸν in B 8. καὶ νομίζουσι τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν εἶναι γνῶσιν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι Θεὸν, loco ejus quod et sen-

tentia flagitat et exstat A 13. *εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ* irrepserit, nisi per *παρόραμα* quoddam ipsius Hippolyti, cujus oculi in A 6. *ὕμνοι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόνασι* aberraverint. In hanc autem regionem ideo delatus est, quod verba hæc: *καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀδάμαν* (B 7.) post tripertitam Hominis divisionem (B 5.) posuit, eum in A alium eumque simpliciorem ordinem sequutus esset, a nomine (A 6.) ad divisionem (A 9.) transeundo. Alter vero error, qui B 15. inconcinna hæc: *οὕτω φάσκουσι τριγενῆ* peperit, non ipsi Hippolyto sed librario imputandus est. Ea enim ex A 24.: *Ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ὅλων τρία γένη* apparet leniter mutando sic esse corrigenda: *Τούτου φάσκουσι τρία γένη . . . . καὶ τρεῖς εἶναι ἐκκλησίας.* '*Hujus* (i. e. *τοῦ παντὸς*) *tria dicunt esse genera.*'

Jam absolutis quæ de Ophitis agunt capitibus, eodem modo pertractemus capita, quæ et in quinto et in decimo libro continuo sequuntur. Sunt autem de Peratis.

A.

(Lib. V. p. 123.)

Ἔστι γοῦν καὶ ἑτέρα τις Περατική, ὧν[1] πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔλαθεν ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν δυσφημία· ὧν νῦν εἰς φανερὸν ἄγειν ἔδοξε τὰ ἀπόρ-
ῥητα μυστήρια. Οὗτοι φάσκουσι τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἕνα τριχῇ διῃρημένον. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς τριχῇ διαιρέσεως παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος οἷον μία τις ἀρχὴ καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη εἰς ἀπείρους τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι τομὰς δυναμένη. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη τομὴ καὶ προσεχεστέρα κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ Τριὰς καὶ καλεῖται ἀγαθὸν τέλειον, μέγεθος πατρικόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τῆς Τριάδος αὐτῶν μέρος οἱονεὶ δυνάμεων ἀπείρων τι πλῆθος ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένον[2]· τὸ τρίτον ἰδικόν. Καὶ ἔστι τὸ

B.

(Lib. X. p. 315.)

Οἱ δὲ Περᾶται, Ἀδέμης ὁ Καρύστιος καὶ Εὐφράτης ὁ Περατικὸς, λέγουσιν ἕνα εἶναι κόσμον τινὰ, οὕτως καλοῦντες τοῦτον, τριχῇ διῃρημένον.

Ἔστι δὲ τριχῆς[3] διαιρέσεως παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος, οἷον ἡ μία ἀρχὴ καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη εἰς ἀπείρους τομὰς τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι δυναμένη. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη τομὴ καὶ προσεχεστέρα κατ' αὐτούς ἐστιν ἡ τριὰς καὶ καλεῖται ἀγαθὸν τέλειον, μέγεθος πατρικόν. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μέρος τῆς τριάδος οἱονεὶ δυνάμεων ἀπείρων[4] τι πλῆθος· τρίτον ἰδικόν· καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον[5], ὅθεν διαῤῥήδην λέγουσι τρεῖς Θεοὺς, τρεῖς λόγους,

[1] Inter Περατική et ὧν aliqua interciderunt.
[2] *αὐτῶν γεγεννημένων.*
[3] *δὲ τῆς τριχῆ* Millerus.
[4] *ἄπειρον.*
[5] *ἀγέννητον*] Adde: *ὅπερ ἐστὶ ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές· τὸ τρίτον γεννητόν.*

τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές· τὸ τρίτον γεννητόν· ὅθεν διαῤῥήδην λέγουσι τρεῖς Θεοὺς, τρεῖς λόγους, τρεῖς νοῦς, τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους. Ἑκάστῳ γὰρ μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, τῆς διαιρέσεως διακεκριμένης, διδόασι καὶ Θεοὺς, καὶ λόγους, καὶ νοῦς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ πρὸ τῆς[1] τοῦ κόσμου τομῆς, καθεστηκότος λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ, κατελθεῖν δι' αἰτίας ἃς ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν ἐν τοῖς Ἡρώδου χρόνοις τριφυῆ τινα καὶ τρίσωμον καὶ τριδύναμον ἄνθρωπον, καλούμενον Χριστὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ συγκρίματα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, φησὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον. "Πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ σωματικῶς, καὶ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ Θεότης," τῆς οὕτω διῃρημένης Τριάδος. Κατενηνέχθαι γάρ[2] φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων κόσμων δύο, τοῦ τε ἀγεννήτου καὶ τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, παντοίων δυνάμεων σπέρματα. Τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτῶν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. Κατε-

τρεῖς νοῦς, τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἑκάστῳ γὰρ μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, τῆς διαιρέσεως διακεκριμένης, διδόασι καὶ Θεοὺς καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πρώτης τομῆς, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου καθεστηκότος, κατεληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου χρόνοις τριφυῆ τινα ἄνθρωπον καὶ τρισώματον καὶ τριδύναμον, καλούμενον Χριστὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ τοῦ κόσμου[3] συγκρίματα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι θέλουσι τὸ εἰρημένον· "Ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σώματι.[4]"

Κατενεχθῆναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων κόσμων δύο, τοῦ τε ἀγεννήτου καὶ τοῦ αὐτογεννήτου, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, παντοῖα[5] δυνάμεων σπέρματα. Κατεληλυθῆναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ ἀγεννησίας, ἵνα διὰ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτοῦ πάντα σωθῇ τὰ τριχῇ διῃρημένα.

[1] πρὸ τῆς] πρώτης.
[2] γάρ] δέ.
[3] τοῦ κόσμου delenda.
[4] σωματικῶς.
[5] παντοίων.

ληλυθέναι οὖν φησὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας, ἵνα διὰ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτοῦ πάντα σωθῇ τὰ τριχῇ διῃρημένα. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα κάτω ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἄνωθεν ἀφίει, καὶ[1] κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται. Τοῦτο ἔστι, φησὶ, τὸ εἰρημένον "Οὐ γὰρ ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀπολέσαι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ." Κόσμον, φησὶ, καλεῖ τὰς δύο μοίρας τὰς ὑπερκειμένας, τήν τε ἀγέννητον καὶ τὴν αὐτογέννητον. Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ, φησὶν, "ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν" ἡ Γραφὴ, τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν λέγει τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ ἰδικοῦ.[2] Τὴν μὲν γὰρ τρίτην δεῖ φθαρῆναι, ἣν καλεῖ κόσμον, τὰς δὲ δύο τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὰς ὑπερκειμένας.

Ἃ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα, ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ[3] κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται. Δύο δὲ εἶναι μέρη τὰ σωζόμενα λέγει, τὰ ὑπερκείμενα, ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς φθορᾶς· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὃν κόσμον ἴδιον[4] καλεῖ. Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Περᾶται.

Lacunosa esse verba A 1. Ἔστι γοῦν καὶ ἑτέρα τις Περατική, ὧν neminem fugere potest, cum pronomen ὧν quo referatur nihil habeat. Neque id non intellexit Millerus, qui hæc annotavit: 'Post Περατική *fortasse* desunt quædam.' Nos vero decimo libro nixi non solum aliqua ibi intercidisse sine dubitandi modestia pronuntiavimus, sed etiam qualia ea fuerint intelligimus. Nimirum ipsi illi antesignani Peraticorum, quorum mentio fit B 1. Ἀδέμης (sive, ut p. 34. 18. appellatur, Ἀκεμβῆς*) ὁ Καρύστιος καὶ Εὐφράτης ὁ Περατικός etiam A 1. post Περατική fortasse talibus verbis commemorati erant: ἧς ἀρχηγοὶ γεγόνασι Ἀδέμης κ.τ.λ.; certe hi sunt ad quos pronomen ὧν respicit.

Quod ad reliquas mutationes attinet, quas in A faciendas esse in

[1] ἀφίει καὶ] ὀφιοειδῆ.
[2] τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἰδικόν.
[3] ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ] ὀφιοειδῆ.
[4] ἰδικόν.

* Ex. p. 127. 11. Εὐφράτης ὁ Περατικὸς καὶ Κέλβης ὁ Καρύστιος nova hujus nominis forma prodire non videtur. Nam cum in minuscula scriptura λ et μ vix dignoscantur, Κέλβης et Ἀκεμβῆς eodem spectant.

margine significavimus, tres proximæ tam simplices et manifestæ sunt, vix ut defensione egeant. Nam A 18. scribendum esse δυνάμεων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένων, '*infinita multitudo potentiarum ex se ipsis genitarum*,' probatur per A 23., ubi secunda Trinitatis pars appellatur ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές. Porro A 33. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου τομῆς corruptum esse e πρώτης ostenditur per B 24. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πρώτης τομῆς. Denique A 50. κατενηνέχθαι γάρ a sententiarum connexu respuitur. Nulla enim exponitur causa eorum, quæ ante dicta erant, sed afferuntur nova. Corrigendum esse γάρ in δέ qui per se non perspexerit, per B 36. docebitur, ubi exstat κατενεχθῆναι δέ.

Proximam vero ab his mutationem, quæ quidem ad A 68. et B 49. pertinet, eo uberiore disputatione probandam esse arbitror, quo magis codicis scriptura primo aspectu ab omni offensione vacua videri potest. Etenim quæ in codice leguntur, quæque nil mutans neque monens exhibuit Millerus A 63. τὰ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα κάτω ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἄνωθεν ἀφίει, καὶ κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται, hæc igitur verba et singula Græca sunt et ita inter se connectuntur, ut lectorem vel editorem, qui aliud agat, specie quadam periodi decipere possint. Qui vero hoc egerit, ut probabilem aliquam sententiam in eis deprehendat, is, opinor, primum id mirabitur, quo tandem pacto Christus '*dimittere* (ἀφίει)' dici possit eadem τὰ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, quæ statim post '*pœnis affecta ablegantur* (κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται)'; deinde haud patienter feret, τὰ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα cum ἀφίει conjuncta loco accusativi fungi, nominativi autem vicem præstare, ubi ad ἀπολέγεται referantur; denique quæ tandem sint τὰ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα illa, de quibus neque post quicquam profertur neque antea, jure suo mirabundus quæret. Jam si exitum ex his difficultatibus quærentes ad B 45. confugimus, vel in majores incidere videmur, cum hæc ibi reperiantur: Ἃ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔστιν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται. Ubi nil discrepat ab A, nisi quod pro elegantiori vocabulo ἀπολέγεται usitatius ponitur ἀποπέμπεται, et post ἀφίει additur εἰκῇ, quo additamento efficitur ut Christus non solum 'dimittere' dicatur τὰ κολασθέντα sed adeo '*temere* dimittere.' Verum enim vero in ipso illo εἰκῇ, quod dici nequit quam sit absonum, satis aperta latent vestigia veri. Nam si continua scriptura exaraveris ΑΦΙΕΙΕΙΚΗΙ, facile videbis quomodo in istas litteras abire potuerit id quod ab Hippolyto et in quinto et in decimo libro scriptum esse mihi persuasi: ΟΦΙΟΕΙΔΗ ὀφιοειδῆ. Hoc restituto, καί quod

B 49. post εἰκῆ exstat delebitur, quippe quod ex κῆ ortum sit Totum vero enuntiatum sicut A 63: conformatur τὰ μὲν γὰρ ... ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα κάτω ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἄνωθεν ὀφιοειδῆ κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται jam est vertendum sic: '*Ea enim quæ superne delata sunt ascendent per illum (Christum), serpentina autem, quæ superne delatis insidiata sunt, pœnis affecta ablegantur.*' Neque profecto in obscuro positum est, quem locum et ὁ ὄφις et τὰ ὀφιοειδῆ in Peraticorum obtineant doctrina, quæ arctissime cum Ophitarum hæresi conjungitur. Etenim ὁ ὄφις secundum Peratas est, quod discimus ex Hippolyto p. 133. 80. ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὄφις ὁ τέλειος sive, ut p. 133. 93. dicitur, ὁ καθολικὸς ὄφις, ὁ σοφὸς τῆς Εὔας λόγος, atque adeo (p. 135. 61.) ὁ υἱὸς, ὁ λόγος, ὁ ὄφις. Hujus genuini ὄφεως sunt ἀντίμιμοι πολλοὶ, ὅσοι ὤφθησαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ δάκνοντες (p. 134. 11.), atque hæ falsæ serpentes, quæ genuinam illam æmulantur, cum recte appellari possint τὰ ὀφιοειδῆ tum cur '*superne delatis insidiari*' dicantur, inde explicatur, quod ipsæ sunt θεοὶ τῆς γενέσεως (p. 133. 87.) sive θεοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας (p. 133. 91.). Verum hæc de hac re satis dicta sunto.

Quod præterea in A emendetur, nil restat nisi v. 78. τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν λέγει τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ ἰδικοῦ. Hæc enim scriptura si recte sese habet, ipse κόσμος ἰδικός tribus partibus constare dicitur. At vero cum ex tota Peraticorum ratione apparet, tum supra A 20. data opera exponitur, tertiam partem universi κόσμου tripertiti esse κόσμον ἰδικόν, sive (p. 130. 17.) τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς κόσμον. Quicum ut locus, de quo agimus, consentiat, scribendus est sic: τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν λέγει, τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἰδικόν.

Jam exhausto A deducimur ad B. Ibi primum recte egisse Millerum B 5. ἔστι δὲ τριχῆς διαιρέσεως in ἔστι δὲ τῆς τριχῆ διαιρέσεως mutando, ostenditur per A 7. Minus bene idem Millerus rem gessisse in eo videtur, quod B 7. pro οἷον ἡ μία ἀρχή proposuit οἷον εἰ μία ἀρχή. Quo quid lucremur, excogitare nequeo. Immo per articulum ἡ, quem consulto hic posuisse videtur Hippolytus, sicut non magis temere exstat A 9. οἷον μία τις ἀρχή, commonefecit lectorem, μίαν ἀρχήν pro eo accipiendum esse, quod vulgo dicitur "terminus technicus." Etenim μία ἀρχή in hoc scriptorum genere, ad quod Hippolytus pertinet, sic frequentatur ut non *unum* principium sed *unicum* omnium rerum principium (μόνην ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων) significet. Quod recte dictum esse Te non fugit, qui illa vocabula sic usurpata cum passim alibi legeris, tum in fragmentis Rhodonianis, quæ ex Eusebio exscripsit Routhius, Relliqq. Sacrr. i. p. 439. 40. ed. sec. Totus igitur Hippolyti locus sic distinguendus est atque vertendus:

Ἔστι δὲ τῆς τριχῆ διαιρέσεως τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος οἷον ἡ μία ἀρχὴ, καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη εἰς ἀπείρους τομὰς τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι δυναμένη. 'Unitas tripertitæ divisionis est quasi unicum principium, quod tanquam fons magnus in innumerabilia segmenta cogitando secari potest.' Ubi consulto *Unitas* posui pro eo quod Græce est τὸ ἓν μέρος. Ea enim quæ statim sequuntur (B 12. = A 13.) si accurate pensitaveris, non de una parte hic agi videbis sed de Toto. Atque adeo suspicor, Totum illud ab ipsis Peratis nequaquam appellatum esse τὸ ἓν μέρος, sed τὸ Ἕν, cui vel Hippolytus, vel is, ex quo ipse pendet, scriptor, perperam de suo addiderit μέρος. Paullo post B 15. δυνάμεων ἀπείρων τι πλῆθος nemo non mutaverit in id, quod A 18. legitur, ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος. Neque minus apertum est post B 16. καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον haud pauca excidisse. Nusquam enim quicquam reperitur quo vel μέν vel πρῶτον possit referri. Lacunæ supplementum hoc: καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον ὅπερ ἐστὶ ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές· τὸ τρίτον γεννητόν· ὅθεν διαῤῥῆδην κ. τ. λ. præbet A 20—25., simulque aperit hanc quoque lacunam sicut tot alias, quibus cum quivis scriptus liber tum vero imprimis hic Hippolytei operis codex Parisinus* affligitur, ex uberrimo homœoteleutôn fonte manasse.

* Aliud exemplum non minus luculentum in capitibus de Sethianis inveniemus. Præterea hic duo ascribere liceat, quorum unum exstat in capitibus de Basilide:

Lib. VII. p. 233. 80.	Lib. X. p. 320 85.
ταύτης τῆς υἱότητος τῆς τριχῆ διῃρημένης τὸ μέν τι ἦν λεπτομερὲς, τὸ δὲ ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμενον.	ταύτης τῆς υἱότητος τριχῆ διῃρημένης τὸ μέν τι ἦν λεπτομερὲς, τὸ δὲ παχυμερὲς, τὸ δὲ ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμενον.

Ibi verba τὸ δὲ παχυμερές, quæ in octavo libro propter λεπτομερές interciderunt, integra præstat decimus liber. Contrarium accidit in capitibus de Simone:

Lib. VI. p. 165. 50.	Lib. X. p. 319. 37.
εἶναι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ῥίζαις ταύταις πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀπέραντον δύναμιν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ. Ἥντινα ἀπέραντον δύναμιν φησὶ τὸν ἑστῶτα [adde στάντα], στησόμενον.	εἶναι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ῥίζαις ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀπέραντον δύναμιν· εἶναι φησὶ τὸν ἑστῶτα, στάντα, στησόμενον.

Ubi restituit sextus liber quæ simile homœoteleutôn decimo eripuit: δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ· ἥντινα ἀπέραντον δύναμιν ante εἶναι φησί inserenda.

Reliqua quæ in B mutanda esse significavi, talia sunt, ut coram Te de eis verba facere supervacaneum, pæne dixerim, ineptum videatur. Quapropter his omissis aliud quiddam breviter perstringam, quo quasi manu ducit comparatio decimum inter et reliquos libros instituta. Etenim versum Coloss. ii. 9. quo Peratæ suam doctrinam stabilire conantur, allatum vides A 46. sic: *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ σωματικῶς, καὶ πᾶσά ἐστι ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ θεότης.* Quod discrepat quidem a vulgata scriptura quæ hæc est: *ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*, proxime vero accedit ad eam hujus versiculi lectionem, quam ex Origene ascripsit Lachmannus in editione majore: *εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησε ἅπαν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος κατοικῆσαι σωματικῶς.* Exsultabunt, hoc patefacto, quicunque Origenem Philosophumenôn scriptorem esse vel dixerunt vel, ut fert humana natura semel dictorum tenax, etiam in posterum dicturi sunt, et fortasse si a nobis moniti totum opus, ratione biblicorum locorum habita, denuo pervolutaverint in caput de Monoimo Arabe p. 270. 55. devenient, ibique eundem locum iterum deprehendent Origenianæ lectioni quam vulgatæ propiorem: *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σωματικῶς.* Verum caveant, ne præpostere exsultent. Nam ab altera parte stat decimus liber, in quo versus de quo agimus, prorsus ita scriptus exstat sicut vulgo circumfertur: B. 36. *ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος σώματι*, ubi corrigendum esse *σωματικῶς* vidit Millerus neque ullus non viderit. Jam quid de hac discrepantia statuendum esse dicamus? Equidem ita censeo: Cum in libro quinto et octavo capita de Peratis et de Monoimo conscriberet Hippolytus, horum ipsorum libris vel aliquo, qui inde hauserat, scriptore ita usus est, ut eorum vestigia persequeretur. Itaque biblicos locos eo ascripsit modo quo eos allatos invenit, i. e. sicut legebantur in ecclesiis Orientis, ubi Peratæ et Monoimus floruerunt et vero etiam Origenes. Quo factum est, ut in illa operis Hippolytei parte *εὐδόκησε*, quod vulgo Coloss. i. 19. legitur, etiam Coloss. ii. 9. adsit. Contra cum decimum librum festinanter e reliquis libris excerperet Hippolytus: talem varietatem nil referre ratus, eam ascripsit lectionem, quam et ipse a puero edidicerat et suæ regionis homines usurpabant, i. e. qualis legebatur in ecclesiis Occidentis. Quæ si recte disputata sunt, tantum abest, ut opinioni de Origene Philosophumenôn scriptore opitulentur, ut eam redarguant via quadam inopinata. Simul autem eo valent, ut multiplex Lachmannianæ operæ utilitas, quam utinam theologi tandem aliquando ut par est agnoscant, novo argumento illustretur. Ea enim editione recte adhibita, de quovis libro controverso facillime dijudicari potest,

utrum ad Orientem an ad Occidentem pertineat, modo insit aliquis ex eis Bibliorum locis, quorum orientalis lectio differt ab occidentali. Velut, cum Hippolytum in libro decimo occidentali lectione usum esse videamus, inde cumulus accedit argumentationi Tuæ, qua eum episcopum Arabiæ non fuisse demonstrasti.

Absolutis igitur his, quæ erant de Peratis, capitibus, pergimus ad proxima, quæ sunt de Sethianis. Ea quum inter corruptissimas totius operis partes numeranda sint, sane feliciter accidit, quod liber decimus in hoc capite *ἐπιτομήν* exhibet solito copiosiorem.

A.

(Lib. V. p. 138. 34.)

Ἴδωμεν οὖν τί λέγουσιν οἱ Σιθιανοί.[1] Τούτοις δοκεῖ τῶν ὅλωϊ εἶναι τρεῖς ἀρχὰς περιωρισμένας. ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀπείρους ἔχειν δυνάμεις. Δυνάμεις δι' αὐτῶν λεγόντων λογιζέσθω[2] ὁ ἀκούων τοῦτο αὐτοὺς λέγειν: "Πᾶν ὅ τι νοήσει ἐπινοεῖς ἢ καὶ παραλείπεις μὴ νοηθὲν, τοῦτο ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν πέφυκε γενέσθαι ὡς ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ πᾶσα ἡτισοῦν διδασκομένη τέχνη· οἱονεὶ, φησὶ, γενήσεται[3] τοῦτο τὸ παιδίον αὐλητὴς ἐγχρονίσαν αὐλητῇ, ἢ γεώμετρος γεωμέτρῃ, γραμματικῷ γραμματικὸς, τέκτων τέκτονι, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁπάσαις τέχναις ἐγγὺς γινόμενον ὁμοίως συμβήσεται. Αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν, φησὶν, οὐσίαι εἰσὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος: τούτων δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ τεταγ-

B.

(Lib. X. p. 316. 49.)

Τοῖς δὲ Σιθιανοῖς δοκεῖ, ὅτι τῶν ὅλων εἰσὶ τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ περιωρισμέναι. Ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν πέφυκε δύνασθαι[4] γενέσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ πᾶσα ἥτις οὖν διδασκομένη τέχνη [5]οἱονεὶ γένοιτο παιδίον αὐλητῇ γενέσθαι αὐλεῖν, ἢ γεωμέτρῃ γεωμετρεῖν, ἢ τινὶ τέχνῃ ὁμοίως.

Αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν, φασὶν, οὐσίαι εἰσὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος. Τούτων δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σκότους,

[1] Σηθιανοί scribendum ubique.
[2] Δύναται δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόντων λογίζεσθαι.
[3] γενήσεται] Cod. γένηται. Scr. γένοιτο.
[4] δύνασθαι delendum.
[5] οἷον εἰ ἐγγὺς γένοιτο παιδίον αὐλητῇ δύνασθαι αὐλεῖν.

μένον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σκότους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κάτω, καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄνω, οὐκ ἔστι πνεῦμα ὡς ἄνεμος ἢ ῥιπῆ ἢ λεπτή τις αὖρα νοηθῆναι δυναμένη, ἀλλ' οἱονεὶ μύρου τις ὀσμὴ ἢ θυμιάματος ἐκ συνθέσεως κατεσκευασμένου, λεπτὴ διοδεύουσα δύναμις ἀνεπινοήτῳ τινι καὶ κρείττονι ἢ λόγῳ ἔστιν ἐξειπεῖν εὐωδία. Ἐπεὶ δὴ ἄνω ἐστί τὸ φῶς καὶ κάτω [τὸ] σκότος καὶ τούτων ὡς ἔφην τοιοῦτον τρόπον ὂν μέσον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ φῶς[1] πέφυκε, καθάπερ δή τις ἥλιος[2] ἄνωθεν ἐλλάμπει[3] εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον σκότος· ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία διαμέση[4] ἔχουσαν τάξιν ἐκτείνεται καὶ φέρεται πανταχῇ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ θυμιαμάτων τὴν εὐωδίαν πανταχῇ φερομένην ἐπεγνώκαμεν. Τοιαύτης[5] δὲ οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν εἰρημένων[6] τριχῶς, τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ ἡ δύναμίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ κάτωθεν αὐτῶν τεταγμένῳ. Τὸ δὲ σκότος ὕδωρ ἐστι φοβερὸν, εἰς ὃ κατέσπασται καὶ μετενήνεκται εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην φύσιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ φῶς. Τὸ δὲ σκότος ἀσύνετον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ φρόνιμον παντελῶς· καὶ οἶδεν ὅπερ ἐστὶ κάτω, καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄνω, οὐκ ἔστι πνεῦμα ὡς ἄνεμος ἢ ῥιπὴ ἢ λεπτή τις αὖρα νοηθῆναι δυναμένη, ἀλλ' οἱονεί τις ὀσμὴ μύρου ἢ θυμιάματος ἐκ συνθέσεως κατασκευαζομένου λεπτῆς, διοδεύσασα[7] δύναμις ἀνεπινοήτῳ τινὶ καὶ κρείττονι λόγου φορᾷ εὐωδίας. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ἄνω τὸ φῶς καὶ κάτω τὸ σκότος καὶ τούτων μέσον τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ φῶς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου[8] ἄνωθεν ἐκλάμπουσα[9] εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον σκότος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία φέρεται μέσην ἔχουσα τάξιν καὶ ἐξικνεῖται ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν θυμιαμάτων ὀσμὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ φέρεται, τοιαύτης δὲ οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν διῃρημένων τριχῶς, τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ ἐστι κάτω ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ ὑποτεταγμένῳ, τὸ δὲ σκότος ὕδωρ εἶναι φασὶ φοβερὸν, εἰς ὃ κατέσπασται [καὶ] μετενήνεκται εἰς τοιαύτην φύσιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ φῶς. Φρόνιμον οὖν τὸ σκότος ὂν καὶ γινῶσκον ὅτι ἂν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶς, μένει τὸ σκότος ἐρη-

[1] τὸ φῶς] Cod. τὸ δὲ φῶς recte.
[2] δή τις ἥλιος] Cod. δή τις ἡλίου. Scr. ἀκτὶς ἡλίου.
[3] ἐλλάμπει] Cod. ἐλλάμπειν recte.
[4] διαμέση] μέσην ἔχουσα Millerus.
[5] Distingue : ἐπεγνώκαμεν· τοιαύτης.
[6] εἰρημένων] διῃρημένων.
[7] λεπτὴ διοδεύουσα.
[8] φῶς ὡς ἀκτίς.
[9] ἐλλάμπουσα.

ὅτι ἂν ἅπαρθῇ τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, μένει τὸ σκότος ἔρημον, ἀφανὲς, ἀλαμπὲς, ἀδύναμον, ἄπρακτον, ἀσθενές. Διὸ πάσῃ φρονήσει καὶ συνέσει βιάζεται κατέχειν εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν λαμπηδόνα καὶ σπινθῆρα[1] τοῦ φωτὸς μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας καὶ τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς φύσεως εἰκόνα κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ, σκοτεινὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὑδάτων περφωτισμένην πνεύματι. Ὡς οὖν ἀντιποιεῖται τὸ σκότος τῆς λαμπηδόνος, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὸν σπινθῆρα δουλεύοντα καὶ βλέπῃ, οὕτως ἀντιποιεῖται τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἑαυτῶν· καὶ σπεύδουσιν ἄραι καὶ ἀνακομίσασθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς[2] τὰς μεμιγμένας αὐτῶν δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὕδωρ σκοτεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν. Πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν οὖσαι κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀπειράκις ἄπειροί εἰσιν ἑκάστη κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ἑαυτῆς φρόνιμοι, νοεραὶ, ἀναρίθμητοι τὸ πλῆθος. Φρόνιμοι δὲ οὖσαι καὶ νοεραὶ, ἐπειδὰν μένωσι κατ' αὐτὰς, ἡσυχάζουσι πᾶσαι· ἐὰν δὲ πλησιάσῃ δύναμις δυνάμει, ἡ ἀνομοιότης τῆς παραθέσεως ἐργάζεται κίνησίν τινα καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως μεμορφωμένην κατὰ τὴν συνδρομὴν τῆς παραθέσεως τῶν συνελθουσῶν δυνάμεων. Γίνεται γὰρ τῶν δυνάμεων ἡ συνδρομὴ,

μον, ἀφανὲς, ἀλαμπὲς, ἀδύναμον, ἄπρακτον, ἀσθενὲς, τῷδε[3] πάσῃ συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει βιάζεται κατέχειν εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν λαμπηδόνα καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα τοῦ φωτὸς μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας. Εἰκόνα τούτου ταύτην παρεισάγουσι λέγοντες, ὥσπερ, ἡ κόρη τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ὑποκειμένων[4] ὑδάτων σκοτεινὴ φαίνεται, φωτίζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὕτως ἀντιποιεῖται τὸ σκότος τοῦ πνεύματος, ἔχει δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις βουλομένας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ ἀνιέναι. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται

ἀπειράκις ἄπειροι ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα κυκλοῦνται[5] καὶ γένεται ἐπιμιγνυμένων δίκην σφραγίδων. Ὥσπερ γὰρ σφραγὶς ἐπικοινωνήσασα κηρῷ

[1] καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα.
[2] ἑαυτά.
[3] τόδε] Cod. τῷ δί. Scribo: οὕτω δή.
[4] ὀφθαλμοῦ ὑπὸ ὑποκειμένων.
[5] κυκλοῦνται] τυποῦνται.

οἱονεί[1] τις τύπος σφραγῖδος κατὰ συνδρομὴν ἀπὸ πληγῆς παραπλησίως[2] πρὸς τὸν ἐκτυποῦντα τὰς ἀναφερομένας οὐσίας. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄπειροι μὲν κατ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν αἱ δυνάμεις, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀπείρων δυνάμεων ἄπειροι συνδρομαί, ἀναγκαίως γεγόνασιν ἀπείρων σφραγίδων εἰκόνες. Αὗται οὖν εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες αἱ τῶν διαφόρων ζῴων ἰδέαι. Γέγονεν οὖν ἐκ πρώτης τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν συνδρομῆς μεγάλης μεγάλη τις ἰδέα, σφραγὶς[3] οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. Σχῆμα δὲ ἔχουσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ μήτρᾳ παραπλήσιον τὸν ὀμφαλὸν ἐχούσῃ μέσον, καὶ εἰ, φησὶν, ὑπὸ ὄψιν ἀγαγεῖν θέλει τις τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο, ἔγκυον μήτραν ὑποίου βούλεται ζῴου τεχνικῶς ἐρευνησάτω, καὶ εὑρήσει τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἀπαραλλάκτως ὑποκείμενον· γέγονε δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τὸ σχῆμα τοιοῦτον, οἱονεὶ μήτρᾳ παραπλήσιον. Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνδρομὴν ἐν αὐτῷ μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ[4] γεγόνασιν ἄπειροι δυνάμεων συνδρομαί. Καὶ ἑκάστη συνδρομὴ οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐξετύπωσεν ἢ σφραγῖδα οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς παραπλήσιον μήτρᾳ. Εἰς δὲ ταύτην πᾶσαν ἡ[5] ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τοῖς διαφόροις ζῴοις ἀπειρία[6] κατέσπαρ-

τὸν τύπον ἐποίησεν αὐτὴ παρ' ἑαυτῇ ἥτις οὖν μένουσα, οὕτως καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπικοινωνήσασαι τὰ πάντα ἀπεργάζονται γένη ζῴων ἄπειρα. Γεγονέναι

οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης συνδρομῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν μεγάλης σφραγῖδος ἰδέαν, οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν[7] εἶδος ἔχουσαν παραπλήσιον μήτρᾳ ὀμφαλὸν ἐχούσῃ μέσον. Οὕτως

δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκτυπώσεις τῶν πάντων ἐκτετυπῶσθαι ὥσπερ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν μήτρᾳ παραπλησίους. Ἐκ

[1] οἱονεί] οἷον εἰ. [2] ἀπὸ πληγῆς] ἀποπλάσῃ.
[3] συνδρομῆς, μεγάλης μεγάλη τις ἰδέα σφραγῖδος.
[4] Distinguendum et scribendum sic: παραπλήσιον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνδρομήν. Ἐν δ' αὖ τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς κ.τ.λ.
[5] ἡ] τήν. [6] ἀπειρίαν. [7] οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.

ται καὶ καταμεμέρισται μετὰ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄνωθεν εὐωδία. Γέγονεν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος πρωτόγονος ἀρχὴ, ἄνεμος σφοδρὸς καὶ λάβρος καὶ πάσης γενέσεως αἴτιος. Βρασμὸν γάρ τινα ἐμποιῶν τοῖς ὕδασι, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων διεγείρει κύματα· ἡ δὲ τῶν κυμάτων γένεσις, οἱονεί τις οὖσα ὁρμὴ ἐγκύμονα γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τὸν βοῦν, ὁπόταν[1] ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁρμῆς ὁρμήσασα[2] ἐπείγηται. Ἐπὰν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου κῦμα ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐγερθὲν καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἐργασάμενον τὴν φύσιν γέννημα θηλείας εἰληφὸς ἐξ ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἔχον τὸ[3] κατεσπαρμένον φῶς ἄνωθεν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας, τουτέστι νοῦν μεμορφωμένον ἐν τοῖς διαφόροις εἴδεσιν, ὅ ἐστι τέλειος Θεὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου φωτὸς ἄνωθεν καὶ πνεύματος κατενηνεγμένος εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὥσπερ εἰς ναὸν φορᾷ φύσεως καὶ ἀνέμου κινήματι, γεννηθεὶς ἐξ ὕδατος, συγκεκρυμμένος[4] καὶ καταμεμιγμένος τοῖς σώμασιν οἱονεὶ ἀλάλων[5] γενομένων ὑπάρχον[6] καὶ φῶς τοῦ σκότους, ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων σπεῦδον[7] λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν λύσιν εὑρεῖν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἑαυτοῦ· καταμέμικται γὰρ σπινθὴρ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος γεγονέναι φασὶ πρωτόγονον ἀρχὴν ἀνεμοφθόρον[8] καὶ λάβρον καὶ πάσης γενέσεως ἀγγεῖον[9], βρασμόν τινα καὶ κίνησιν ἐργαζόμενον τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων κινήσεως. Τοῦτον δὲ ἐπιτελεῖν εἶδος συρίγματι ὄφεως παραπλήσιον, φέρων ὅθεν ἦν ὁ φορῶν ὁ κόσμος[10] πρὸς γένεσιν ὁρμᾷ ὀργήσας ὡς μήτρα καὶ ἔντευθεν θέλουσι συνίστασθαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν. Τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι πνεῦμα ἄνεμον λέγουσι,

τέλειον Θεὸν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας καὶ φωτὸς λαμπηδόνος γεγονέναι, καὶ εἶναι γέννημα θηλείας νοῦν τὸν ἄνωθεν σπινθῆρα κάτω ἀναμεμιγμένον, σὺν τοῖς περὶ συγκρίτοις σώματος σπεύδειν καὶ φεύγειν, ἐκφυγόντα[11] πορεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν λύσιν οὐκ εὑρίσκειν διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι δέσιν. Διὸ

[1] ὁρμὴ μήτρας ἐγκύμων γέγονεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ τοῦ νοῦ, ὁπόταν κ.τ.λ.
[2] ὀργήσασα. [3] εἰλήφῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, κατέχει τό κ.τ.λ.
[4] συγκεκριμένος. [5] ἀλάλων] ἄλας τῶν. [6] ὑπάρχων.
[7] σπεύδων.
[8] ἄνεμον σφοδρόν Millerus. [9] ἀγγεῖον] αἴτιον.
[10] Τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τέλειον εἶδος σύρματι ὄφεως παραπλήσιον μορφωθῆναι, ὃ ἀφορῶν ὁ κόσμος κ.τ.λ.
[11] σὺν τοῖς περισυγκρίτοις σώματος σπεύδειν ἐκφεύγειν καὶ ἐκφυγόντα κ.τ.λ.

τις ἐλάχιστος ἀπ . . . . . ἅσμα ἄνωθεν ἀ . . . . . νος δίκην· ἐν τὸ . . . . . [1]λυσυγκρίτοις πολλῶν. Ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει· "Πᾶσα οὖν φρονητὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθεν ἔστι." Πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἀπὸ[1] τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ κάτωθεν, ὅ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνεμος ἐν βρόμῳ καὶ ταράχῳ ἐπεγείρας κύματα καὶ γεννήσας νοῦν τέλειον υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ὄντα ἴδιον ἑαυτοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν. Ἄνωθεν γὰρ ἦν ἀκτὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ τελείου φωτὸς ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ σκολιῷ[2] καὶ φοβερῷ καὶ πικρῷ καὶ μιαρῷ ὕδατι κεκρατημένον ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα φωτεινὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ φωτός[3]· ἐπεὶ οὖν . . . . . ημάτων κύματα . . . . . διαφόροις γ . . . . . εσι μήτρα τίς . . . . . κατεσπαρμέν . . . . . ὡς ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ζῴων θεωρεῖται.[4] Ὁ δὲ ἄνεμος λάβρος ὁμοῦ καὶ φοβερὸς φερόμενός ἐστι τῷ σύρματι ὄφει παραπλήσιος πτερωτός[5]· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς γεννήσεως τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον γέγονεν, πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν ἑξῆς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων μίξεως κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῳδὸν ὡς λέγουσι[6]· "Πᾶσα οὖν ἡ φροντὶς τοῦ ἄνω φωτός ἐστιν, ὅπως ῥύσηται τὸν κάτω σπινθῆρα ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω πατρὸς" ἀνέμου ἐπεγείροντος βρασμὸν καὶ τάραχον καὶ ἑαυτῷ νοῦν ποιήσαντος οὐκ ὄντα αὐτοῦ φάσκουσιν ἰδόντα[7]

[1] Distinguendum et scribendum sic: [πε]ρισυγκρίτοις . . . . "[ὑδάτων] πολλῶν" ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει. Πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθέν ἐστι, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθεὶη ὁ νοῦς, ἀπό κ. τ. λ.

[2] σκοκλιῷ] σκοτίῳ.

[3] φωτός] ὕδατος.

[4] Distingue: θεωρεῖται, ὁ δέ κ.τ.λ.

[5] πτερωτῷ Millerus.

[6] Distinguendum sic: λέγουσι. Πᾶσα οὖν κ.τ.λ., citandi signis ante πᾶσα et post πατρός deletis.

[7] αὐτοῦ, ὃ; φάσκουσιν, ἰδόντα κ.τ.λ.

ἀρχὴν τῆς γεννήσεως εἰληφότων.
Ἐπεὶ οὖν κατείληπται τὸ φῶς καὶ
τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν ἀκάθαρτον, φησὶ,
καὶ πολυπήμονα μήτραν ἄτακτον
εἰς ἣν ὃ ὄφις εἰσερχόμενος, ὁ ἄνε-
μος τοῦ σκότους, ὁ πρωτόγονος τῶν
ὑδάτων, γεννᾷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ
ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶδος οὔτε ἀγαπᾷ οὔτε
γνωρίζει ἡ ἀκάθαρτος μήτρα· ὁμοι-
ωθεὶς οὖν ὁ ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτὸς
τέλειος λόγος τῷ θηρίῳ τῷ
ὄφει εἰσελθὼν[1] εἰς τὴν ἀκά-
θαρτον μήτραν, ἐξαπατήσας αὐ-
τὴν τοῦ θηρίου τῷ ὁμοιώματι, ἵνα
λύσῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τὰ περικεί-
μενα τῷ τελείῳ νοὶ τῷ γεννω-
μένῳ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ μήτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ
πρωτοτόκου ὕδατος[2], ὄφεως, ἀνέμου,
θηρίου. Αὕτη, φησὶν, ἐστὶν
ἡ τοῦ δούλου μορφὴ[3], καὶ αὕτη
ἡ ἀνάγκη τοῦ κατελθεῖν τὸν λόγον
τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐς μήτραν παρθένου.

τὸν τέλειον λόγον τοῦ ἄνωθεν φω-
τὸς αὐτὸν ἀπομορφώσαντα εἴδει
ὄφεως κεχωρηκέναι ἐν μήτρᾳ[4], ἵνα
τὸν νοῦν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς
σπινθῆρα ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθῇ. Καὶ
τοῦτο

εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον· "Ὃς ἐν μορφῇ
Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγή-
σατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυ-
τὸν ἐκένωσε μορφὴν δούλου λαβών."
Καὶ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν μορφὴν οἱ
κακοδαίμονες θέλουσι καὶ πολυπήμο-
νες Σιθιανοί. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ
οὗτοι λέγουσιν.

Vides quam largum certarum emendationum proventum hæc capita attulerint. Quas si omnes, singularum rationes proferendo, persequi vellemus, tam ampli scribendi essent commentarii, ut hujus epistolæ cancelli eos non caperent. Quare satius videtur, de eis solis locis disputare, in quibus plus quam in reliquis auxilii e B redundavit in A. Incipiam autem ab A 36—54. Eum locum si relegeris, sicut editus est a Millero, nullum, opinor, invenies, qui vel ab indulgentissimo lectore ferri queat, sententiarum connexum. Id vero accidit minore librarii culpa quam Milleri, qui quidem primum quæ sana exstant in codice tanquam vitiosa mutavit, deinde quæ vitiosa sunt

[1] εἰσελθῶν] εἰπῆλεεν.
[2] πρωτοτόκου ὕδατος] πρωτοτόκου τοῦ ὕδατος.
[3] "τοῦ δούλου μορφή." Philipp. ii. 7.
[4] ἐς μήτραν.

pro sanis accepit, denique perperam distinguendo * effecit, ut distrahantur continuanda, continuentur autem quæ sunt disjungenda.

Etenim, quod ad primum attinet, cum A 39. codex habeat τὸ δὲ φῶς, delevit Millerus particulam, quæ et B 26.† exstat et ominino necessaria est ad veram periodi conformationem. Eodem pertinet quod A 41. ἐλλάμπειν, quæ est codicis scriptura, pendere a πέφυκε A 39. prætervidit, in ejusque locum de suo suffecit ἐλλάμπει. Quos in errores propterea incidit, quia non detexit verum vitii latibulum, quod est A 40. Ibi cum codex præbeat δήτις ἡλίου: iterum Millerus ἡλίου, quod sanum est, mutavit in ἥλιος, intactum autem reliquit δήτις (ΔΗΤΙΣ), quod corruptum esse ex ἀκτίς (ΑΚΤΙΣ) ostendit B 26. τὸ δὲ φῶς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου. Plane eodem modo egit cum A 50. τῶν εἰρημένων τριχῶς. Retinuit enim εἰρημένων, quod secundum B 32. corrigendum est in διῃρημένων, pro τριχῶς vero, quod non erat sollicitandum, fortasse legendum esse dixit τριῶν ἀρχῶν. Porro qui decimum librum consuluisset, non dubitasset utrum in A 43. ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία διαμέση ἔχουσαν τάξιν per errorem iteratæ essent litteræ διὰ e fine vocabuli εὐωδία an scribendum esset διὰ μέσης, sed

* Eodem modo quæ alibi in hoc de Sethianis capite peccavit, notavimus in margine A 124. 169. B. 101. His unum præterea exemplum addam, ubi recta distinguendi ratione inventa locus obscurissimus et vitiosus, fit planissimus. Exstat is quidem in capite de Valentino, p. 186. 51.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ γεννητὸς ἦν ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τὸν [τὸ recte conj. Millerus] πατρικὸν τέλειον, τὴν ἀγεννησίαν, οὐκέτι τελείῳ ἀριθμῷ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ δοξάζουσι τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα τὸν νοῦν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνατελεῖ, δώδεκα γὰρ αἰώνων προφέρουσιν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τῷ νοῖ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Quæ mecum sic restituas: οὐκέτι τελείῳ ἀριθμῷ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ δοξάζουσι τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα, τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ. Δώδεκα γὰρ αἰῶνας προσφέρουσιν ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ. '*Non amplius perfecto numero patrem suum, Mentem, Verbum et Vita glorificant sed imperfecto. Nam duodecim mundos offerunt,*' etc. Quibuscum conferas, p. 186. 37.: καὶ προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ τέλειον ἀριθμὸν, αἰῶνας δέκα.

† Ubi pro τὸ δὲ φῶς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου scribendum est τὸ δὲ φῶς ὡς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου. Similis error p. 178. 6. peperit absurda hæc: παρεκθήσομαι νῦν τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος μετὰ τῆς ὑμνουμένης παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γῆς φιλοσοφεῖ. Ibi finis vocabuli Ἕλλησι absorpsit initium ejus vocabuli quod sequi oportet, i.e. σιγῆς. Quo respicit Hippolytus ad notissimum illud Pythagoreorum silentium, ἐχεμύθιαν.—Idem vocabulum σιγή, cujus haud parvæ partes sunt in Valentinianorum doctrina, bis oblitteratum est in eo libri sexti capite, quod illam doctrinam explicat: p. 188. 13. τίνες δὲ συνυπάρχειν τῷ πατρὶ εἰς γῆν; et p. 197. 72. τούτοις περιτυχὼν Οὐαλεντῖνος ὑπεστήσατο τὸν πάντων βασιλέα, ὃν ἔφη Πλάτων, οὗτος πατέρα καὶ βυθὸν καὶ πᾶσι γῆν τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων; utroque enim loco et pro εἰς γῆν et pro πᾶσι γῆν scribendum est σιγήν.

prius re vera factum esse ex B 28. ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία φέρεται μέσην ἔχουσα τάξιν intellexisset. Denique, comparato B, nequaquam eum fugere poterat, totum locum finibus circumscribi periodi unius, cujus protasis usque ad A 48. ἐπεγνώκαμεν extenderetur, apodosis autem inciperet a τοιαύτης. His igitur, quæ vel librarius commisit vel Millerus, amotis omnibus, planam habemus periodum hanc: ἐπεὶ δὴ ἄνω ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ κάτω τὸ σκότος καὶ τούτων ὡς ἔφην τοιοῦτον τρόπον ὂν, μέσον τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ φῶς πέφυκε, καθάπερ ἀκτὶς ἡλίου, ἐλλάμπειν εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον σκότος, ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία μέσην ἔχουσα τάξιν ἐκτείνεται καὶ φέρεται πανταχῇ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ θυμιαμάτων τὴν εὐωδίαν πανταχῇ φερομένην ἐπεγνώκαμεν· τοιαύτης δὲ οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν διῃρημένων τριχῶς, τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ ἡ δύναμίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ κάτωθεν αὐτῶν τεταγμένῳ. '*Jam cum supra sit lumen et infra tenebræ, medius autem inter hæc talis spiritus, qualem dixi, lumen autem ita natura sua comparatum sit ut, tanquam radius solis, illucescat in subjacentes tenebras, rursus vero spiritus fragrantia medium locum obtinens pertineat et feratur in omnes regiones, sicut suffimentorum igni crematorum fragrantiam in omnes regiones ferri cognovimus: talis igitur cum sit indoles trium partium, vires spiritus luminisque una sunt in tenebris, quæ ipsis suppositæ sunt.*'

Decimi igitur libri beneficio contigit, ut componerentur hujus quidem loci turbæ omnes. Sane non tanta neque tamen multo sunt minora, quæ idem liber præstat in altero loco, qui nulli corruptelarum generi non est obnoxius. Pertinet autem ab A 142. usque ad A 199. Ibi primum enuntiatum sic editum vides: A 142. ἡ δὲ τῶν κυμάτων γένεσις, οἱονεί τις οὖσα ὁρμὴ, ἐγκύμονα γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τὸν βοῦν, ὁπόταν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁρμῆς ὁρμήσασα ἐπείγηται. In quo redintegrando certa distinguens ab incertis, primum dico certissimum esse, sub stupido isto βοῦν latere divinum νοῦν, de quo agitur A 152. Neque magis dubium esse videtur quin ὁρμήσασα corrigendum sit in ὀργήσασα, quo utitur B 82. ὁ κύσμος πρὸς γένεσιν ὁρμᾷ ὀργήσας ὡς μήτρα. Hoc autem reposito, sequitur necessario, μήτραν alicubi inter ea quæ antecedant collocatum per lacunam excidisse. Tria hæc certa esse mihi quidem videntur; quæ præterea requiruntur, ex multis, quæ possunt afferri non inepta, eligenda sunt maxime probabilia. Quæ Tu judicabis utrum assequutus sim scribendo sic: ἡ δὲ τῶν κυμάτων γένεσις, οἱονεί τις οὖσα ὁρμὴ μήτρας, ἐγκύμων γέγονεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ τοῦ νοῦ ὁπόταν ὑπὸ τῆς πνεύματος ὁρμῆς ὀργήσασα ἐπείγηται. '*Undarum autem ortus, quasi impetus quidem uteri, gravidus factus est Homine vel Mente, quando spiritus*

impetu tumens id appetebat.' Sequitur A 146—166. longus verborum cursus participiis in infinitum propulsus neque usquam consistens. Pausam igitur aliquam ut nancisceremur, εἰληφός A 149., quod in codice sic exstat: εἰληφώς, mutavi in εἰλήφῃ, ibique finem protaseos statui; deinde ut apodosis quoque haberet quo niteretur, ex καὶ ἔχον A 150. effeci κατέχει. Qua via ad talem pervenimus, quæ intelligi certe potest, periodi formam, A 146 — 152.: Ἐπὰν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου κῦμα ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐγερθὲν καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἐργασάμενον τὴν φύσιν γέννημα θηλείας εἰλήφῃ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχει τὸ κατεσπαρμένον φῶς ἄνωθεν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας, τουτέστι νοῦν κ. τ. λ. '*Cum vero hæc unda a vento ex aquis excitata, quæ naturam suam gravidam reddidit, fœtum feminæ concipiat: retinet in se lumen superne simul cum spiritus fragrantia disseminatum, hoc est, Mentem, etc.* Jam in reliqua periodi parte Νοῦς ille describitur accuratius diciturque A 159. συγκεκρυμμένος καὶ καταμεμιγμένος τοῖς σώμασιν οἱονεὶ ἀλάλων γενομένων ὑπάρχον καὶ φῶς τοῦ σκότους. Ibi συγκεκρυμμένος eodem modo corruptum est ex συγκεκριμένος quo supra p. 124. 30. διακεκρυμμένης factum ex διακεκριμένης. Deinde 'sub ἀλάλων γενομένων' quid lateat nescit' Millerus. Ego, quod præfiscine dixerim, scire mihi videor. Latet enim ἅλας τῶν γενομένων '*sal omnium quæ sunt* *,' qua similitudine Mens illa superne delata omnia sustentare significatur. Prorsus eodem modo Valentiniani, secundum Irenæum adv. Hær. i. 6. 1. dixerunt τὸ πνευματικὸν εἶναι τὸ ἅλας καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Neque ulli non in mentem venerit Matth. v. 13: ὑμεῖς ἔστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς, et quæ in Novo Testamento reperiuntur similia. Hac igitur conjectura aliisque quibusdam mutationibus necessariis in verborum ordinem receptis, ultima totius periodi pars evadit talis: A 154. τέλειος Θεὸς . . . . . συγκεκριμένος καὶ καταμεμιγμένος τοῖς σώμασιν, οἱονεὶ ἅλας τῶν γενομένων ὑπάρχων καὶ φῶς τοῦ σκότους, ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων σπεύδων λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν λύσιν εὑρεῖν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἑαυτοῦ. '*Perfectus Deus . . . . . confusus et commixtus cum corporibus, quasi sal omnium rerum existens et lux tenebrarum, ex corporibus exsolvi studens, neque solutionem et exitum reperire valens.*'

Hæc pro virili parte perfecimus auxilio libri decimi adjuti fere nullo. Id præsens demum et salutiferum adest inde a posteriori parte

* Quod ad γενομένων attinet, conferas p. 185. 5.: καὶ πάντων τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία τῶν γενομένων; p. 183. 69.: δημιουργὸν δὲ εἶναι τῶν λεγομένων πάντων, scrib. γενομένων.

ejus enuntiati, quod jam codicis nostri librarius in exemplari suo vel difficile lectu invenit vel dilaceratum lacunis. Neque vero, quod in quibusdam recte fecit, omnes lacunas signavit interstitiis vacuis. Unde factum est ut continua legantur hæc: A 169 . . . . λυσυγκρίτοις πολλῶν. Ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει· "Πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθεν ἐστί." Πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθεὶς ὁ νοῦς κ. τ. λ. In quibus pæne tot ineptiæ insunt, quot vocabula. Nam primum quidem verba illa: πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθέν ἐστι, quæ ex psalmo scilicet afferuntur, nullam continent sententiam in se absolutam, cum non addatur id, quo tendat 'cura et solicitudo luminis.' Deinde neque in Davidicis Psalmis exstant, neque ex Sethianorum psalmo aliquo deprompta esse possunt. Id enim si verum esset, non ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει scripsisset Hippolytus, sed vel addidisset nomen ejus, qui psalmum condiderit, vel plurali numero, λέγουσι, usus esset, sicut fecit supra, ubi Naassenorum affert psalmum: p. 122. 76. ψαλμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐσχηδίασται οὕτως. Postremo quid interrogetur per verba πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον nequaquam apparet, neque magis intelligitur, quo tandem pacto tali quæstioni respondeatur per verba proxima. Tot igitur tantasque adesse in hoc loco difficultates, quivis, opinor, perspiciet, qui divino rationis munere recte uti didicerit. Promptam vero et probabilem earum solutionem vereor ut vel sagacissimus inventurus sit, nisi nitatur adminiculo, quod fauste subministrat B 99.: διὸ ἐβόα ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων μίξεως κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῳδὸν ὡς λέγουσι. "Πᾶσα οὖν ἡ φροντὶς τοῦ ἄνω φωτός ἐστιν, ὅπως ῥύσηται τὸν κάτω σπινθῆρα ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω πατρὸς" κ. τ. λ. Inde jam certiores reddimur excidisse A 170. ante ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει locum aliquem Davidicorum Psalmorum, in quo de clamore ex aquis sublato ageretur. Talis autem locus reperitur Psalm. 29. 3.: φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης ἐβρόντησε, Κύριος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν, ejusque reliquiæ servatæ sunt in πολλῶν quod legitur A 170. Atque illum Psalmorum versum, quippe in quo ipse Κύριος clamorem tolleret, a Sethianis acceptum esse de ipsorum Θεῷ τελείῳ (A 154.), veri videtur esse similius, quam alios quosdam in quibus, velut Psalm. 93. 4., clamor quidem tollitur, verum non a Deo. Hac igitur via eo perveni ut in margine sic hæc legenda et distinguenda esse annotaverim: A 169. . . . . *[πε]ρισυγκρίτοις . . . "[ὑδάτων] πολλῶν" ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει. Quo facto, nulla

* Sic scribendum esse pro . . . . λυσυγκρίτοις, quod exstat apud Millerum, colligo ex B. 95.: σὺν τοῖς περισυγκρίτοις.

amplius adest causa cur citandi signis includantur proxima. Quæ quidem in unius gyrum periodi sic compellenda sunt, ut ex A 176. ἀπολυθείς recuperetur id quod vocabulo ῥύσηται B 102. respondeat. Hoc jam fit facillime sic: πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθέν ἐστι, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθείη ὁ νοῦς. *'Omnis igitur cura et sollicitudo superni luminis est, qua via et ratione ab improbi et obscuri corporis morte solvatur Mens.'*

Paullo post, A 185. ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα φωτεινὸν. ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ φωτός vitiosum esse, in oculos incurrit. Nequaquam enim cum lumine commisceri lumen dictum erat sed cum σκοτίῳ * καὶ φοβερῷ καὶ πικρῷ καὶ μιαρῷ ὕδατι A 184. Neque dubitari potest, quin pro ἐπάνω τοῦ φωτός sufficiendum sit ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, cum appareat Sethianos respicere ad Genes. i. 2.: καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Quæ statim sequuntur miserum in modum lacunosa, conjungi videntur vinculo periodi unius, cujus apodosis incipit ab A 195. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου. Quare nihil mutavi nisi A 195. πτερωτός in πτερωτῷ, quamquam Millerus, qui talem periodi formam vel non intellexit vel non probavit, post πτερωτῷ fulcrum orationis inseruit ὡς.

Hujusmodi rationibus ductus istas, quæ copiosiorem disputationem postulare videbantur, institui mutationes in A. Non pauciora quidem neque minora movenda erant in B. Ea vero tam manifesta sunt fere omnia, ut et Tui et mei otii prodigus videar, si singularum caussas prolixe explicare velim. Quare de solo B 3. breviter dicam, quippe ubi et vitii origo magis quam in reliquis delitescat, et variæ pateant emendandi viæ. Ex quibus eam quæ videbatur simplicissima esse ingressus primum quidem perspexi, vel ipsum Hippolytum excerpendi festinatione abreptum, vel librarium negligentem, utrumque autem homœoteleuto deceptum ab A 4. ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν transtulisse ad A 10. ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν πέφυκε. Quo factum est ut omitterentur media interque ea periret subjectum πᾶν ὅ,τι κ.τ.λ. A 8., quod pertineret ad πέφυκε. Deinde δύνασθαι ab initio ascriptum emendandi caussa ad alterum γενέσθαι, quod exstat B 7., per errorem insertum est ante prius γενέσθαι B 4. Quapropter B 4. δύνασθαι delendum esse, contra B 7. γενέσθαι mutandum in δύνασθαι, quod pendeat a πέφυκε B 4., significavi in margine. Præterea ut tenor

* Codex: σκολιῷ, quod cum aqua conjungi non potest. Scripsi σκοτίῳ secundum A 84.: ὕδωρ σκοτεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν.

aliquis orationi constet, *οἱονεί* B 6. disjunxi ita ut fieret *οἷον εἰ* et *ἐγγύς* ante *γένοιτο* B 6. ascivi ex A 19. *ἐγγὺς γινόμενον*.*

Jam postquam tria capitum paria, quæ quidem erant de Naassenis, Peratis, Sethianis, pertractavimus, satis, opinor, patefactum est, quod initio hujus epistolæ dixi, a libro decimo afferri multis reliquorum librorum locis mutilatis et vitiosis auxilium fere idem quod a codice integriore exspectari possit. Tam prosperum adjumentum ut futurus aliquis editor ad capitum paria, quæ restant, et velit adhibere et possit, Tu, scio, mecum vehementer optabis. Tali igitur viro hoc negotium, quod nos inchoavimus, omni ex parte perficiendum committentes, coronidis loco his pagellis pauca quædam addamus de quibusdam Heracliti Ephesii fragmentis, quæ in Hippolyteo libro reperiuntur.

Ordinem Hippolytei operis si sequimur, primo loco Heraclitea verba talia reperimus, quæ fieri potuit ut esse Heraclitea ignoraverit ipse Hippolytus. Inveniuntur autem in excerptis ex aliquo Naassenorum libro, quem qui scripsit Eleusiniorum mysteriorum ceremonias secundum Naassenorum placita explicare conatus est: p. 115. 4. *Τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσι οἱ κατωργιασμένοι τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰ μυστήρια· "Θεμιτὸν† δέ ἐστι τὰ μικρὰ μεμνημένους αὖθις τὰ μεγάλα μνεῖσθαι. Μόροι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι."* Μικρὰ, *φησὶν, ἐστὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς Περσεφόνης κάτω . . . . . Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, φησὶ, τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς σαρκικῆς γενέσεως, ἃ μνεθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι μικρὰ παύσασθαι ὀφείλουσι· καὶ μνεῖσθαι τὰ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπουράνια. Οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ, φησὶ, λαχόντες μόρους [μείζονας ἔνθα]‡ μείζονας μοίρας λαμβάνουσιν.* Cujus loci ratio, quam quoad potui significavi distinguendo, hæc est, ut scriptor Naassenus commentetur in alicujus de Eleusiniis mysteriis scriptoris verba ea, quæ citandi signis inclusi. Itaque vocabulum *Θεμιτόν* (v. 2.) reddit per *ὀφείλουσι* (v. 7.) et quid *τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα* secundum Naassenos significent aperire studet circumscribendo et addendo. In ultimis autem istius de mysteriis scriptoris verbis quæ hæc sunt: *μόροι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι*, Ephesii philosophi orationem adesse, fortasse ne Naassenus quidem scriptor magis perspexit quam Hippolytus. Nos vero totidem litteris ea tanquam Heraclitea allata videmus a Theodoreto et Clemente Alexandrino, unde in Schleiermacherianam Heracliteorum

* Milleri annotationem ad 316. 52. (=B 5.) non intelligo, cum taceat de *οἱονεὶ γένοιτο*.

† Sic Millerus pro eo quod in codice est: *Θέμιον*.

‡ Hæc vel similia per homœoteleuton excidisse apparet.

fragmentorum collectionem abiere, fr. 54. (vol. ii. p. 124. Opp. Philoss.) Frequentabatur autem hoc dictum in sermonibus hominum, sicut multa alia Heracliteà acuta quadam brevitate insignia, atque sic paullatim, quod fieri solet in proverbiis, in significationem conversum est aliquantum discrepantem a vera ipsius auctoris mente. Quam cum Schleiermachero Theodoreti loco nixus eam fuisse arbitror, ut hominibus in bello occisis honores et præmia eo majora tribui quo majores labores et pericula subiissent, apto quodam magni sui operis loco diceret Heraclitus.

Proximum ab hoc fragmentum, jam nomine Heracliti ascripto, in Hippolyteum opus ex Peratico aliquo scriptore translatum est, qui in aqua principium mortis contineri, quæ quidem est Peraticorum opinio, etiam ex Græcis poetis et philosophis demonstrare susceperat: p. 132. 60. Οὐ *μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, φησὶν, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, "εἷς" λέγων "ψυχῇς εἰ γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι."* Sic quidem hæc distribuit Millerus, præterea 'pro *εἰ γάρ* legendum esse *εἴη ἄν*' in annotatione pronuntians. Cui nemo, puto, obtemperabit, qui Schleiermacheri librum inspexerit. Ibi enim cum fragmentum 49. p. 117. sic perscribatur: *ψυχῇσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι· ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχή,* statim quivis intelliget totum Hippolyti locum distinguendo et corrigendo administrandum esse ita: Οὐ *μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, φησὶν, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος εἷς, λέγων· "ψυχῇσι γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι."*

Hæc igitur fragmenta per occasiones oblatas interseruntur operi Hippolyteo. Verum etiam dedita opera locos Heracliteos larga manu effudit Hippolytus in libro nono, ubi Noeti doctrinam ex Heraclitea philosophia prodiisse probaturus est. In quo demonstrando ita versatur, ut disputationi suæ quasi tabulam quamdam præmittat earum notionum theologicarum, quarum maximum est in Noeti hæresi momentum, easque ipsas jam in Heracliti opere inveniri ostendat singulos hujus locos afferendo. Ergo in eligendis Heracliteis certo quodam consilio ducebatur Hippolytus. Id si semper ante oculos nostros posuerimus: cum per labyrinthum variorum errorum, quos in interpretandis vel potius detorquendis Heracliteis commisit Hippolytus, licebit penetrare, tum nonnulla certe scribendi menda tollere poterimus, quibus Ephesii dicta jam per se obscura etiam crassioribus tenebris involvit librarii negligentia. Verba autem Hippolyti, quibus tabula illa, quam diximus, continetur, sese habent sic: p. 280. 51. Ἡράκλειτος *μὲν οὖν φησὶν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν* (1.) *διαιρε-*

τὸν ἀδιαίρετον, (2.) γενητὸν ἀγένητον, (3.) θνητὸν ἀθάνατον, (4.) λόγον, (5.) αἰῶνα, (6.) πατέρα υἱὸν, (7.) θεὸν δίκαιον. Continuo locos quosdam Heracliti p. 280. 60—65. ascribit, in quibus cum doctrina de discorde concordia tradatur, ita eos accipit Hippolytus quasi Omne (τὸ πᾶν) et posse dividi dicant et non posse. Unde confirmare vult illud contrariarum notionum par, quod in tabula posuit primo loco, διαιρετὸν ἀδιαίρετον. Deinde λόγον esse τὸ πᾶν secundum Heraclitum, quod quarto loco exstat in tabula, expiscatur ex nobili illo totius Heraclitei operis exordio, quod habes apud Schleiermacherum fr. 47. p. 111.: λόγου τοῦδε ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι κ.τ.λ. Hucusque negotium, quod sibi peragendum proposuerat, facile successit Hippolyto. Veram sexto tabulæ loco etiam υἱόν dictum esse ab Heraclito τὸ πᾶν affirmaverat. Cujusmodi quid quia totum Ephesii librum perscrutatus indagare nequivit: cum astuta quadam simplicitate ad vocabulum aliquod confugit, quod vocabulo υἱὸς cognatum esset, nimirum ad παῖς. Hac via deprehendit verba commodissima, ex quibus eadem opera παῖδα sive υἱόν appellatum esse τὸ πᾶν probaret tum vero etiam αἰῶνα, quod quidem dixerat quinto tabulæ loco. Itaque p. 281. 72. scripsit hæc: "Οτι δέ ἐστι παῖς τὸ πᾶν καὶ δι' αἰῶνος αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων οὕτως λέγει· "Αἰὼν παῖς ἐστι παίζων, πεττεύων· παιδὸς ἡ βασιληίη." Horum Heracliteorum verborum qualis vera esset sententia, olim copiosius aperui in Musei Rhenani volumine septimo, p. 108. seqq. Pertinent enim ad doctrinam de mundis continuo et creatis et deletis, quam tradidit Heraclitus similitudine repetita a pueris, qui quæ modo ex arena ædificarunt ædificia statim diruunt.

Proxima edita vides a Millero sic: p. 281. 74. "Οτι δέ ἐστιν ὁ [πόλεμος] πατὴρ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων γενητῶν, ἀγένητος κτίσις δημιουργὸς, ἐκείνου λέγοντος ἀκούωμεν· "Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατὴρ, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς." Ubi inter ὁ et πατὴρ inseruit Millerus πόλεμος, quia quod esset Hippolyti in afferendo hoc fragmento consilium haud intellexit. Neque enim quidquam curabat Hippolytus quo loco in Heraclitea doctrina esset ὁ πόλεμος; verum hoc agebat, ut id quod υἱόν dictum esse modo sese probasse opinaretur simul πατέρα nominari ab Heraclito monstraret, atque sic Noeti placitum, τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα (p. 284. 57.), Heracliteum, non Christianum, esse argueret. Idem autem Noetus* cum πατέρα et υἱὸν γεννητόν simul

* P. 284. 54. sic scriptum exstat in codice: Οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀκράτητος ἀκράτητος, ἀγένητος, ἀθάνατος καὶ θνητός. Ibi Millerus alterum ἀκράτητος delevit, quamquam in promptu est totum locum et corrigendum

et ἀγέννητον esse dixisset, etiam hoc ex eisdem Heracliteis verbis extundere aggressus est, ut promisso staret quod secundo tabulæ loco dedisset. Unde totum locum jam perspicimus conformandum esse sic: Ὅτι δέ ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων γεννητὸς ἀγέννητος, κτίσις δημιουργὸς, ἐκείνου λέγοντος ἀκούωμεν· "Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς." '*Qui vero pater sit omnium rerum, et creatum esse et non creatum, creaturam simul esse et creatorem, ex ipso audiamus dicente sic: Bellum omnium pater est, omnium rex.*' Nimirum cum Heraclitus id velit, ut omnia e bello, hoc est, e contrariis nasci dicantur, sic hoc detorquet Hippolytus, ut contraria quævis Patri ab Heraclito tribui inde probet; eodem igitur jure creatum dici posse Patrem quo non creatum, creaturam quo creatorem. Hæc si recte disputata sunt, etiam κτίσις δημιουργός, quod in κτίσεως δημιουργός mutari voluit Millerus, non sollicitandum esse videmus. Continent enim hæc verba alterum contrariorum juxta positorum par, quod priori γεννητὸς ἀγέννητος respondet.

Minores admovendæ erant machinæ ut θνητόν et ἀθάνατον idem esse secundum Heraclitum appareret, quod tertio tabulæ loco positum erat. Id enim facile deducitur ex fragmento Schleiermacheriano 51. p. 123.: Θεοὶ θνητοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον θνήσκοντες τὴν ἐκείνων ζωήν, quod paucis mutatis ascribit Hippolytus p. 282. 22.: Λέγει δὲ ὁμολογουμένως τὸ ἀθάνατον εἶναι θνητὸν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀθάνατον διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων· ἀθάνατοι θνητοὶ, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὴν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες.

Restabat quod ultimo loco tabulæ positum erat, agnosci ab Heraclito θεὸν δίκαιον 'Deum justum,' h. e. qui ultimum de universa rerum natura judicium agat. In quo comprobando ordinem eschatologiæ Christianæ tenuit Hippolytus, atque primum quidem mortuorum resurrectionem ab Heraclito tradi dicit. p. 283. 25.: Λέγει δὲ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν ταύτης φανερᾶς ἐν ᾗ γεγενήμεθα, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οἶδε ταύτης τῆς ἀναστάσεως αἴτιον, οὕτως λέγων· "Ἔνθα δ' ἐόντι ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερτιζόντων καὶ νεκρῶν." Ibi ἐγερτιζόντων vocabulum est nullum. Cujus loco quid scripserint et Heraclitus et Hippolytus obscurum esse amplius non potest, ubi semel in priori vocabuli parte agnoveris antiquum illud adverbium ἐγερτί, cujus duo tantum præter hoc mihi quidem innotuere exempla. Quorum unum exstat Sophocl. Antig. 400. in oratione vigilis de se suisque sociis, qui invicem sese ad diligentiam adhortabantur, narrantis hæc:

et supplendum esse sic: οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀκράτητος καὶ κρατητὸς, ἀγέννητος [καὶ γεννητὸς], ἀθάνατος καὶ θνητός scil. ἦν ὁ Θεός.

καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων ὑπήνεμοι,
ὀσμὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ βάλοι πεφευγότες,
ἐγερτὶ κινῶν ἄνδρ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιῤῥόθοις
κακοῖσιν, εἴ τις τρῦδ' ἀμείδησοι πόνου.

Alterum invenitur Rhesi v. 525., in Hectoris oratione:

ὑμᾶς δὲ βάντας χρὴ προταινὶ τάξεων
φρουρεῖν ἐγερτί.

Ubi ἐγερτί quod ab ἐγείρω ductum significat "vigilanter" prorsus eodem modo conjungi vides cum φρουρεῖν, quo apponitur ad φύλακας γίνεσθαι in Heracliteo fragmento. Jam hoc adverbio ex priori parte enucleato, per lenissimam mutationem ex altera parte ἐγερτιζόντων efficitur ζώντων "vivorum" qui respondeant "mortuis" juxta positis in καὶ νεκρῶν. Denique vitiosa supersunt prima fragmenti verba ἔνθα δ' ἐόντι. In quibus emendandis ducem Hippolytum ipsum sequimur, qui cum Heracliteum locum eo consilio afferat, ut Deum resurrectionis auctorem ab Ephesio philosopho agnosci inde ostendat, aliquid de Deo ibi legerit necesse est. Itaque totum fragmentum sic scribendum esse existimamus: ἔνθα δὴ Θεόν τε ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερτὶ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. '*Ibi Dei ope adstare et vigilanter custodes fieri vivorum et mortuorum.*' Hujus frustuli quænam vera sit ex Heracliti voluntate sententia vix poterit certo dici, donec integra, unde abscissum est, oratio in lucem prodierit alicunde. Interim non absimile videtur esse veri, respexisse Heraclitum ad vetustam opinionem de aureæ ætatis hominibus post mortem bonorum dæmonum loco habitis, cujus opinionis vestigia exstant in Hesiodiis Ἔργοις v. 107.:

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος [χρύσεον] κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν
οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἁγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται
ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήϊον ἔσχον.

Hippolytum vero, ubi vocabulum ἐπανίστασθαι in Heracliteo libro offenderit, statim de Christiana ἀναστάσει νεκρῶν cogitasse, non est quod magnopere miremur, præsertim cum vel majore violentia utatur in ultimi judicii doctrina ex Heraclito eruenda sic quidem: p. 283. 29. Λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου κρίσιν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ πυρὸς γένεσθαι, λέγων οὕτως· "Τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός" τουτέστι κατευθύνει· κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον. Quod si per se

spectaveris, sane non poterit dici errasse, qui διακίζειν voluerit interpretari per κατευθύνειν. Etenim κατευθύνειν potest quidem non minus quam διακίζειν significare 'dirigere' atque reapse hoc vult Heraclitus, fulmen igneum, quod est πῦρ ἀείζωον, omnium rerum principium, gubernare atque dirigere omnia. Verum hæc significatio nequaquam eo ducebat quo pergebat Hippolytus. Quapropter ascivit alteram, ex qua κατευθύνειν idem valet quod 'pravum rectum facere, *corrigere*,' atque sic eo pervenit ut ex verbis Heracliteis hanc exsculpserit sententiam: 'Fulmen omnia *corrigit*' i. e. judicat, punit.

Jam pertractatis notionibus, quibus tabula illa constat, omnibus, præstitisse videmur quod nobis propositum fuit. Satis enim apparuit, qua ratione Heraclitea tractaverit Hippolytus. Id autem non alienum visum est, quod hoc loco exponeretur, cum aliquantulum conferat ad recte cognoscendum Hippolyti ingenium, cujus imaginem artifici manu in libro Tuo delineasti. Reliqua vero, quæ de his ceterisque fragmentis Heracliteis et plura dici possunt et graviora, cum magis ad Heraclitum pertineant quam ad Hippolytum: aptiorem locum propediem invenient alibi. Interim ut hæc, qualiacunque sunt, benevole accipias mihique et meis studiis favere pergas etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale. Scripsi Londini d. XXVI. Sept. MDCCCLI.

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* Video nunc quidem totum hoc libri decimi de Peratis caput transcriptum esse a Theodoreto Hærett. Fabb. comp. i. 17. omissis vel immutatis paucissimis. Neque vero quicquam invenio in Theodoreto, quod ad Hippolyteorum verborum emendationem faciat. Nam partim vel immutavit Theodoretus vel omisit ea ipsa, quæ vitiosa sunt in Parisino Hippolyti codice; velut mendosa verba hæc (de quibus dictum est supra p. 314, 315.): *ἃ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔστιν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται*, reddidit Theodoretus sic: *τὰ μὲν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα ἐπανελθεῖν ἄνω παρασκευάσει, τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντα παραδώσει κολάσει.* Contra alii quidam loci manifesto corrupti prorsus ita leguntur apud Theodoretum sicut exstant in Parisino codice. Ad quod genus pertinent lacunosa illa verba, de quibus dixi p. 316. extr.

JACOBI BERNAYSII

AD

HERACLITEA FRAGMENTA

AB HIPPOLYTO IN REFUTATIONIS LIBRO NONO SERVATA

ADNOTATIONES.*

P. 365. l. 3. *θεὸν δίκαιον.*] "Deum justum" sive Deum judicii, i. e. qui ultimum judicium exercet, quod ex Heracliti fragmentis expiscari studet Hippolytus infra p. 367. l. 26.: *λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου κρίσιν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ πυρὸς γίνεσθαι.* Solennis autem est apud scriptores ecclesiasticos hæc *θεοῦ δικαίου* significatio opponiturque *θεῷ ἀγαθῷ* "clementi Deo" sive Deo clementiæ. Velut Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. v. 14. 131. p. 727. P. ex Iliadis Θ 69.: *χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα* probaturus est, notum fuisse Homero *δίκαιον θεόν*, Menandrum autem versu *ἅπαντα δ' ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν* notitiam *θεοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* prodidisse. Eodem modo Ptolemæum, vafrum istum mulierecularum aucupem, illis Dei attributis uti memini in epistola ad Floram, vide Grabii Spicileg. ii. 79. 232. ed. pr. Conjectura Wordsworthii, qui pro *δίκαιον* legi vult *εἰκαῖον*, mihi videtur *εἰκῇ* sive temere proposita esse. Neque enim causam reperio ullam, cur Hippolyto tantam amentiam imputemus ut "fortuitum" ab Heraclito dictum esse Deum deliret.

l. 4. *ἓν πάντα εἰδέναι.*] Codicis scripturam *εἰδέναι* cum prior Millerus in *εἶναι* mutasset, errantem ducem nil mali metuens secutus est Wordsworthius. Qua temeraria mutatione quantam totius doctrinæ Heraclitææ ignorantiam uterque ostenderit, patefactum est in

* Vide supra in primo Analectorum Volumine, p. 365.

dissertatione *de novis fragmentis Heracliti* Musei Rhenani Volumini ix. p. 241. inserta. Ibidem, p. 248. exponitur cur pro codicis δόγματος legendum sit λόγου.

l. 12. ἀπείροισιν ἐοίκασι.] Pro codicis ἄπειροί εἰσιν scribendum esse ἀπείροισιν vidit Wordsworthius; sed ut probaret quam recte docuisset Aristoteles verum colligi posse etiam e falsis, ad sententiam suam defendendam scripsit hæc: "Delet εἰσι Millerus, adstipulante, ut ait Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 718., sed ibi κωφοῖς ἐοίκασι Clemens, *unde* pro ΑΠΕΙΡΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ἐοίκασιν legere mallem ΑΠΕΙΡΟΙΣΙΝ ἐοίκασι." Profecto egregia ista logica meum captum excedit. *Quia* alibi in fragmento prorsus discrepante ab eo de quo agimus exstat κωφοῖς ἐοίκασι, *propterea* scilicet in hoc fragmento legendum est ἀπείροισιν ἐοίκασι. Nescio ad quodnam σχῆμα talis syllogismus referatur. Neque adeo verum est dixisse Millerum, Clementem, Strom. v. 718. adstipulari omissioni vocabuli εἰσι, sed simpliciter dixit Millerus, "Clementem recte omittere εἰσι," cum paullo ante per aliam occasionem numerum paginæ 716. Clementinæ apposuisset. Eam paginam si evolvisset Wordsworthius, statim errorem Milleri deprehendisset, ipse vero a mira ista conclusiuncula cavisset. Etenim affert quidem Clemens illo loco priorem hujus Heraclitei fragmenti particulam, sed ultra verba ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον non progreditur, ita ut omissi additive εἰσι post ἄπειροι ne possit quidem ullum esse testimonium Clementis. Nimirum pro "Clemente" voluit Millerus vel certe debuit dicere scriptorem alium et quidem Sextum Empiricum, a quo solo Heraclitearum reliquiarum ante inventum Hippolytum collectores posteriorem hujus fragmenti particulam sumere potuerunt. Jam apud Sextum adv. Matthemm. vii. 132. revera exstat ἄπειροι ἐοίκασι, omisso εἰσι; verum quia constructio verbi ἐοικέναι cum nominativo dubitationi obnoxia sit, sane præstat Ionicam dativi formam ἀπείροισιν e vestigiis Hippolyteæ scripturæ eruere.—Hæc uberius quam pro rei gravitate exposui ut virum, qui aliorum negligentiam pædagogico supercilio castigare suscepit, etiam in eis labi demonstrem, quæ sine ulla ingenii ope per solam ἀκρίβειαν administrari possunt.

P.367. l. 25. ἔνθαδε ἑόντας.] Nuper codicis scripturam ἔνθα δ' ἐόντι refinxeram in ἔνθα διὰ θεόν τε, liberiore nec tamen veri dissimili conjectura. Supervenit Wordsworthius et solam terminationem vocabuli ἑόντι in ἑόντας mutavit. Id quanquam præstare alteri conjecturæ in tam mutilo fragmento nemo dixerit; tamen quia verum esse *potest*, a Wordsworthio sumpsi, ne me fastidiose omnia sua respuere criminetur. Sed fatalis quædam vis transversum agere videtur Wordsworthium. Si quando ei contingit ut proferat aliquid quod non falsum esse possit,

statim misellas veri scintillulas obruit erroribus gravissimis. Olim quidem Davus dixit Horatio: "*Aut insanit homo aut versus facit.*" At de Wordsworthio sine dilemmate dicendum est, eum vix sani hominis culpam in se admisisse, cum hoc loco versus faceret. Audiamus olorem canentem: "Color poeticus esse videtur, ita ut fortasse versuum hujusmodi reliquias delitescere censeam:

——— ἔνθα δ' ἐόντας
Εἶπεν ἀνίστασθαι φύλακάς τε γενέσθαι ἐγερτὶ
Ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν."

Si quis ita hospes est in litteris Græcis ut quam absurdum sit hoc commentum suo Marte non intelligat, is adeat Schleiermacherum, p. 349. de "poesi" Heraclitea disputantem. Sed "color poeticus," inquit, in isto fragmento esse videtur? Talem "colorem" versuum indicium esse prius non concedam quam Wordsworthius genuinam *Ionicam* orationem monstraverit, quæ eo "colore" *non* imbuta sit. Porro, quo jure insulsum istud εἶπεν tanquam fulcrum ruenti versui secundo applicuit? Sic si poetari Wordsworthium permittimus, propediem integrum Hippocratem integrumque Herodotum in versus nobis transcribet, stans pede in uno.

P. 368. l. 8. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ κ.τ.λ.] Animi causa joculares errores Wordsworthii perstringamus, simulque verum hujus loci intellectum aperiamus, quem perperam distinguendo obscuravit Millerus et pedissequo suo κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν χέειν ἀχλύν. Etenim Millerus distinctionem majorem posuit post ἐξέθετο, l. 9.; quo facto necessitas exstitit ut intra fines hujus commatis: ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἐξέθετο verba quædam indagarentur quæ ab Hippolyto tanquam summa (κεφάλαιον) doctrinæ Heracliteæ allata esse possent. Talia cum reperisse sibi visus esset Millerus in πάντα ὁμοῦ, hæc vocabula citandi signis inclusit, quasi ab ipso Heraclito profecta essent. Quam in hallucinationem fortasse inde abreptus est quod dictum illud in philosophorum scholis decantatum ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διῆρε καὶ διεκόσμησεν animo ipsius obversabatur, dicti vero auctorem non Heraclitum sed Anaxagoram esse vel nescivit vel non meminerat. Utut est, errantem Millerum et in distinguendo et in signis citandi apponendis sequitur fidus Achates Wordsworthius, sed proprium quendam prorsusque mirabilem modum excogitavit, quo verba πάντα ὁμοῦ Heracliteæ originis specie indueret. Nempe sic vertit Anglice: *And in this summary he propounded his*

own mind as all things collectively; i. e. et in hoc summario proposuit suam ipsius mentem tanquam omnes res conjunctim. Sane ubi ita vertis, horribile sacrilegæ φιλαυτίας crimen impingis Heraclito et ad tam gravem accusationem probandam, testimonia proferenda erant certiora, quam quæ insunt in annotatione Wordsworthiana hac, "Ipsum sibi sufficere et omnia per seipsum explorata habuisse jactitabat Ephesius, teste Laertio ix. 4.: *νέος ὢν ἔφασκε μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τέλειος μέντοι γενόμενος πάντα* [*ἐγνωκέναι, ἤκουσε τε οὐδενὸς ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἔφη διζήσασθαι καὶ μαθεῖν πάντα*] *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.* Vide etiam Philosophumena p. 10. 54.: *αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφασκε πάντα εἰδέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους οὐδέν.*" Ut paulisper largiamur, reapse dixisse Heraclitum quæ eum dicentem facit Diogenes Laertius, tamen longa est via ab ea immodestia, qua quis omnia se *scire* gloriatur, ad tantam insaniam, qua quis se vel mentem suam *πάντα ὁμοῦ esse* imaginatur. At in illo ipso Diogenis loco afferendo rursus *ἀκρισίαν* suam prodidit Wordsworthius. Neque enim *πάντα ἑαυτὸν διζήσασθαι* "sese omnia suopte ingenio scrutatum esse," scripsit Heraclitus, sed: *ἐδιζησάμην ἐμωυτὸν* (Plotin. Enneadd. v. 9. p. 1033. vol. ii. ed. Creuz. Suidas s. v. Ποστοῦμος. Plut. adv. Colot. c. 22.), i. e. in me ipsum descendi meæque naturæ leges perscrutando ad intelligendas universæ rerum naturæ leges pervenire conatus sum, aliter ac reliqui philosophi fecerunt, qui in tumultuaria quadam *πολυιστορίᾳ* sapientiam quæsiverunt. Veram hanc Heraclitei dicti mentem cum solito stupore suo perverterunt recentiores Græculi qui philosophorum historias consarcinarunt, horumque nebulonum scrinia compilat Diogenes ubi *αὐθάδειαν* Heracliti e nobili illa exclamatione probare studet. Nugari autem Diogenem pridem significavit p. 530. Schleiermacherus, ejusque operam in Heracliteis fragmentis positam ut diligentius quam adhuc fecisse videtur in posterum perpendat vehementer adhortandus est Wordsworthius. Sed *ἄλις δρυός.* Mittamus Wordsworthium, totumque Hippolyti locum recte distinctum leniterque emendatum sic vertamus: *In hoc autem summario* (sc. in loco illo, qui l. 12. sequitur *ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη κ.τ.λ.*) *universam sententiam suam exposuit* (Heraclitus) *simulque paucis ostendit asseclam hæresis Noetianæ non Christi sed Heracliti discipulum esse. Creatum enim mundum ipsum opificem sui et creatorem esse dicit sic: "Deus est dies, nox, hiems, æstas, etc."* *Πάντα ὁμοῦ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν*, l. 8. simpliciter accipiendum pro "*universam* mentem suam," e solenni recentiorum scriptorum ipsiusque Hippolyti usu qui *ὁμοῦ* addere amat ad augendam notionem vocabuli *πᾶς*, velut p. 96. 70.: *ἴδωμεν ὡς τὰ κρυπτὰ καὶ ἀπόῤῥητα πάν-*

τῶν ὁμοῦ συνάγοντες οὗτοι μυστήρια τῶν ἐθνῶν κ.τ.λ.: p. iii. 75, τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα, φησὶ, τοῦ πάπα πάντων ὁμοῦ ἐστι τῶν ἐπουρανίων, κ.τ.λ.: p. 165. 25. εἶναι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ῥίζαις ταύταις πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀπέραντον, δύναμιν: p. 76. 76. οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ τὸ σύμπαν αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἀπεφήναντο. Quod l. 10. codicis mendum ἐπέδειξα correxi in ἐπέδειξε, et l. 11. ποιητὸν κόσμον scripsi pro πρῶτον, ut ποιητὸν et ποιητὴν sibi respondeant, hæ mutationes tam necessariæ tamque faciles cuivis perito lectori videbuntur, ut de eis verbum non amplius addam. Si dissentit Wordsworthius, explicet nobis Anglicam versionem suam quæ sordes codicis religiose recoquit.

B.

APPENDIX

AD

VOLUMEN SECUNDUM ANALECTORUM.

DE

INDOLE ET ORIGINE CANONUM ET CONSTITUTIONUM APOSTOLORUM

DISSERTATIO.

(Ex secundo prioris editionis nostræ volumine (p. 271—359.) repetita.)

Quod in voto habebam, postquam ineunte vere anni 1852, Bickellii de Parisino Codice Constitutionum Apostolicarum Syriaco disquisitiones in notitiam meam pervenerant, ut diligens textus Syriaci comparatio cum vulgata priorum sex librorum Græcarum Constitutionum recensione institueretur, quam jam exeunte anno 1851 antiquioris cujusdam et purioris textus esse interpolationem certissima nos assequi posse conjectura dixeram, id nunc in Secundo Analectorum Volumine feliciter præstitum est.*

Non ingratum igitur lectoribus fore putavi, si quæ anno 1851, hac de re disputaveram ex illo Volumine Anglice scripto hic denuo excudenda curarem, additis brevissimis adnotatiunculis, quibus significaretur, quoties ea, quæ duce ipsius textus Græci indole, spuria esse cognoveram, revera in Syriaco codice desunt.

Cetera dissertationis illius capita, quæ Septimi et Octavi Libri Synopsin continent, et de Antiochenæ et Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ Constitutionum libris agunt, eodem consilio repetii, additis adnotatiunculis quæ ad secundum Analectorum Volumen spectant.

* Confer quæ in novæ operis nostri de Hippolyto editionis Volumine secundo de hac re disputavimus (p. 409—411. et p. 418—420.).

FIRST CHAPTER.

ANALYSIS AND CRITICISM OF THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE APOSTLES.

First Book. *On the Laymen.*

This is an ethical introduction, addressed by the Apostles to all the faithful of the Gentiles. Neither this phrase, nor any part of the contents, seems to me to justify the opinion, that the composition of the work originated with heretical or Judaizing parties, or even with orthodox, but exclusively Judaic, congregations. The ethical system of Christianity is based, by Christ himself, upon the Decalogue, spiritually interpreted: and there is no entrance into the kingdom of heaven, except by the acknowledgment of the moral law, the law of conscience, of which the Decalogue exhibits a solemn expression, and the Sermon on the Mount the Christian interpretation. This was the leaven thrown into the individual and family life of the ancient world, upon the Judaic basis. Of the different forms of the result of this process, our introduction is the least genuine and primitive: the introduction of the second Greek collection (of the seventh book) comes much nearer to Apostolic simplicity and spirituality. But it is truly catholic. The whole Church was, as an ancient authority says, Judaizing, when Hadrian exterminated the Jewish party in Jerusalem. After that time there were certainly, for a long period, two parties in the Church, of which the one may be called Petrine and the other Pauline; the one standing more upon the Jewish element and consciousness, the other upon the Hellenic and Roman. As soon as the Apostolic fiction was adopted, and works appeared purporting to contain decrees emanating from a late assembly of the Apostles, and intrusted to their disciple, Clement

of Rome, it was natural that the authors should address the laymen as the faithful of the Gentiles, the countrymen of Clement, and those who might be supposed to require, more even than the converted Jewish congregations, express precepts for their congregational organisation, and for their private domestic and social conduct. The exhortation begins with the definition of the "Catholic Church, God's plantation and His elect vineyard," as the totality of the faithful. This passage is quoted by Epiphanius (45. 5.), but without the epithet "elect" before vineyard. The ethic principles of Christian life are then explained. In this exposition the Scripture is taken as the guide; the Law, the Book of the Kings, the Prophets and Psalms, and the Gospels as their complement (*συμπλήρωμα*), are recommended. The quotations from the Gospels refer particularly to the Sermon on the Mount, according to St. Matthew. Men are exhorted to avoid luxury in dress, and to let the hair and beard grow simply (a passage quoted by Epiphanius, 80. 7.): women are admonished not to frequent baths open to both sexes; and they are to appear covered. This means veiled, and is evidently something more than what is understood by covering the head, which is prescribed in the second book of the Constitutions (ch. 57.) to women when they go to the Communion. The writing betrays its Oriental origin, as do the whole tenor of the admonitions against violation of decency in bathing and against idol-worship.

There occur in this, as well as in the following five books, several passages which bear a strong resemblance to corresponding expressions in the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles of the second interpolation; a circumstance, which, with many others, points to Asia Minor as to the native country of both texts. As to the time, one passage at least of our present text implies the existence of Christian emperors*, or the Theodosian age, which is also the probable date of the origin of the second interpolation, as Usher has already observed. But the groundwork of our Greek text points to the second part of the third century.

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* See Ignatian Letters, p. 204. sqq.

SECOND BOOK. "De Epps. Presbytt. et Diaconis.

On Episcopal Functions, and Worship [*and Work-Days*].

A. *On the Office of a Bishop.*

I. ch. 1—5. Age, election, monogamy, conduct, judicial power of bishops: this is more original than the rest.

ch. 6—36. Enlargement, and, in particular, idolatrous elevation of episcopal authority: agreeing entirely, as to style and phraseology, with the second Ignatian interpolation.

II. ch. 37—50. Continuation of ch. 5.

The trial is to take place before the bishop; the necessity of penitence. The bishop is the judge; presbyters and deacons assist. The day for such judicial sittings is Monday (2da feria).

B. *On Christian Church and Worship* (ch. 57—63).

ch. 57. a. The form of the Church, the ancient Christian basilica oblong, like a ship, looking to the west: on the east side, on both flanks (of the tribune) pastophoria = ἐξέδραι, "sacristy" and "vestry." These two lateral tribunes are unknown in the ancient Christian basilica of Rome and the Western Churches in general: but they are mentioned in the East from the fourth century, and may have already existed in the third.*

b. The form of service: more ancient: no prescribed form for the prayer of consecration. *Sacrifice* (θυσία) is the solemn *oblation* with prayers. This takes place *before the communion*, but is preceded by the general thanksgiving and the prayer for the Church. The *osculum pacis* and the benediction make the transition. The *exhortation* (sermon) after the Gospel, first by the presbyters and then by the bishop.

ch. 58. Visitors, admission and placing of them; places of the honoured visitors.

ch. 59. Daily meetings, particularly on the *Sabbath* and the *Lord's Day.*

* Bunsen, Die christlichen Basiliken. 1842. 4.

ch. 60, 61. Exhortation to frequent the meetings*: emulating the zeal of Jews and Pagans.

C. *On Work-Days and Work.* Old.

ch. 62. Admonition not to take part in heathen rites, processions, incantations, public meetings (παννηγύρεις) in the ἀγορά, *unless it be for buying a slave to convert him**, or buying eatables.

ch. 63. He who does not work shall not eat.

It deserves to be remarked, that Books II. III. IV. begin all with δέ in the first sentence.

THIRD BOOK. "De Viduis."

On Widows [and on Baptism].

This book exhibits two heads, Widows and Baptism: some regulations on ecclesiastical offices at the end are evidently an appendix. But of these two heads the section on widows appears the more primitive part in this place, for the next book begins with the chapter on orphans.

A. *On Widows and Deaconesses:* not to be received (as members of the body of widows) under sixty years of age. Their duties, and the bishop's duties towards them, and towards all the indigent, particularly women. They are to hear and to pray with all modesty, not to teach nor baptize. ch. 1—9.

[ch. 10, 11.† But neither are laymen to perform sacerdotal functions: baptism, oblation, imposition of hands, benediction; order of clerical functions.] An evident insertion.

ch. 12—14. A widow ought not to be envious of other widows.

ch. 15. a. On the service of deaconesses in baptizing.

b. General exhortation to women and laymen to do their duty. (The latter part of ch. 15. forms the transition to baptism.)

B. *On the Administration of Baptism* (with the Chrisma; oil of Spirit; confirmation or public confession of faith: every

* Not in the Syriac. † 10, 11. wanting in the Syriac.

Christian becomes a king and priest. Comp. ch. 15. end). ch. 16—19.

In ch. 18.* the remarkable expression occurs, that the catechumen, when baptized, is to say the Lord's Prayer, ὡς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τοῦ τῶν πιστῶν συναθροίσματος: exhibiting his sacerdotal character by praying aloud as in the name of the congregation.

In ch. 17. we meet with a palpable post-Nicene corruption: πατὴρ, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός· Χριστὸς ὁ μονογενὴς Θεὸς (l. Θεοῦ) ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱὸς, ὁ τῆς δόξης κύριος. All the rest is perfectly ante-Nicene; the Spirit is sent by Christ, *is taught by Him*, and preaches Him.

Appendix: a small fragment, here awkwardly appended.

[ch. 20. The duties of deacons.

ch. 21.† The bishop to be ordained (χειροτονεῖσθαι) by two or three bishops, the presbyter and deacon by the bishop; the duties and office of both.]

FOURTH BOOK. "De Orphanis."

On Orphans, Oblations, Domestic and Social Relations.

A. *On Orphans:* duties of congregation and bishop. ch. 1—3.

B. *On Oblations:* duties of those who give, and those who receive them. ch. 4—10.

C. *On Domestic Relations* (parents and children, masters and servants). ch. 11, 12.‡

[*On Duty to Government*: to obey (Apostolic injunction). ch. 13.]

D. *On Virgins:* no precept of the Lord. ch. 14.

* Chapter 17, 18. entirely wanting in Syriac.

† Cap. 21. but called cap. 20. in Clericus and Boetticher's edition, is wanting in Syriac.

‡ Second part of chapter 10. and ch. 11—14. wanting in Syriac.

Fifth Book. "De Martyribus."

On Martyrs [and on the Christian Festivals].

(A.) ch. 1ª. (1ᵇ—6. 10—12.) General duties towards confessors of the faith: ch. 1ª.

The first period of ch. 1. contains a beautiful description of the duty of the brethren to help a brother imprisoned or condemned for the confession of his faith. All the rest of that chapter is a rhetorical amplification, the work of the person who re-wrote the simple old text.

ch. 2. is a tame repetition.

ch. 3. Of those who are flying to save their faith.

ch. 4. Of those who deny Christ.

ch. 5. 6. Exhortation in times of persecution.

Interpolation: Further amplification.

[ch. 7.* On resurrection (Sibylline books).

ch. 8, 9.† On true (St. James the brother, and St. Stephen) and false martyrs.]

ch. 10—12. Further exhortations.

(B.) *On the Christian Festivals and Fasts.* ch. 13—20.

Practice of fourth, fifth, sixth centuries.

1. Τὸ γενέθλιον (25th of 9th month).

2. Ἡ ἐπιφάνιος, manifestation of divinity in baptism (6th of 10th month).

3. The quadragesimal fast (begins on Monday, terminating on Friday).

4. The holy week (full fast: short history of passion week.) ch. 14.

5. Fast of 4th and 6th day (Wednesday and Friday) for the Betrayal and the Passion.

6. Pascha (resurrection). *Not* with the Jews, but on the first; never *before equinox* (22nd day of 12th month), and never but on a Sunday.

Epiphan. (Hæres. Audianorum, sect. 10, 11, 12.) quotes the ordi-

* Ch. 7. extant for a great part in S. The Sibylline books are quoted in Syriac.

† Ch. 8, 9. Stephen and St. James not mentioned in S.

nance of the Apl. Constitutt. on this subject, as saying the very contrary: "They (the Gentile Christians) are always to celebrate Easter when the Jews do; if the brethren of the circumcision are wrong, it is their concern)."

7. Pentecost.

8. Second great fasting: week after Pentecost. Recapitulation on feasts and fasts (ch. 20.)*; conclusion of book; meeting every Sabbath (*the* one excepted) and every Sunday with rejoicing (ἐπιτελοῦντες συνόδους εὐφραίνεσθε).

A very poor and diffuse chapter, and evidently an addition to the first six chapters, which are themselves a rewritten text.

Sixth Book. "De Schismaticis."

[*On Schisms and Heresies.*] *On Purity and conjugal Life.*

Interpolation. ch. 1—16. 18.

[*On Schisms and Heresies:* Simon; Cleobius and other disciples of Dositheus; Cerinthus, Marcus, Menander, Basilides, Saturnilus. Warning against false books, blaspheming against God and the law, creation and marriage. ch. 1—16.†

Admonition against communion with heretics. ch. 18.]

The poorest of all chapters; indeed, quite stupid! The Apostles (!) are made to warn against the heretics, amongst whom Basilides and Saturnilus are named!

On Marriage and Purity of Men. (ch. 17. 27—30.) ‡

I. *Marriage of Clergy:*

Priests can have only one wife, and cannot be married when once ordained.

Subdeacons (ὑπηρέται), cantors, lectors, and ostiarii may marry (once) even when of the clergy.

No clergyman may marry a widow or divorced woman, or a servant or a mistress, or a deaconess virgin, or a widow who having been married (only once) might otherwise marry again.

* Ch. 20. almost entirely wanting in the Syriac. The whole of ch. 13—20 undergoes considerable alteration in Syriac.

† Ch. 15, 16. wanting in S., with the exception of the beginning of the first short sentence.

‡ Ch. 17. wanting in Syriac.

Interpolation:

[ch. 19—26.* Exposition that *Christ is the Perfecter of the Law*, and that the Jewish as well as Gentile observances are at an end. Difference between Decalogue and Levitical law. This insertion, ch. 19—26., constitutes one chapter, or, as it were, one essay. The end of ch. 25. forms an evident conclusion. Ch. 26. is a new admonition against the heretics, Simon, Gnostics, Ebionites, and Noetians or Sabellians (Χριστὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα δοξάζοντες).

Very remarkable is the distinction between the Decalogue and the ἐπείσακτος νόμος; the whole ritual legislation being considered as having been given by Moses after the people had fallen into the idolatry of the golden calf, and thus deserved such shackles: then only sacrifices were *prescribed.* The Decalogue is very warmly praised, and defended against Simon.]

II. *Impurity and Marriage.*

ch. 27—30. Against Jewish superstition about the supposed impurity of natural things connected with sex. ch. 27.

ch. 28.† On real impurities: pederasty, adultery, fornication.

ch. 29, 30. Conjugal life: duties of wife and husband.

RECAPITULATION.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FIRST SIX BOOKS OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
FIRST BOOK.	Ethical introduction.
SECOND BOOK.	
A. *On the Office of a Bishop.*	
I. Requisites and judicial power. ch. 1—5.	

* Greater part of ch. 23. wanting; chapter 24, 25. entirely wanting.

† Ch. 28. almost entirely wanting in Syriac.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
II. Form of trial. ch. 37—50.	Enlargement on the divine nature of episcopal authority. ch. 6—36.
B. *On Christian Church and Worship.*	
Regulations on worship. ch. 56—61.	The form of a Basilica. ch. 57*.
C. *On Work-Days and Work.*	
Admonition against heathen rites. ch. 62.	
Injunction to work. ch. 63.	
THIRD BOOK.	
A. *On Widows and Deaconesses.*	
The reception and duties of widows. ch. 1—9.	Laymen not to encroach upon sacerdotal functions. ch. 10, 11.§
Moral precepts for the same. ch. 12—14.	
Office of deaconesses in baptism. ch. 15a.	General exhortation to women and laymen. ch. 15b.
B. *On the Administration of Baptism.* ch. 16—19.*	
Appendix. Fragment on duties of deacons and on ordination of bishops. ch. 20, 21.†	
FOURTH BOOK.	
A. On Orphans. Duties towards them. ch. 1—3.	
B. On Oblations. ch. 4—10.	
C. On Domestic Relations. ch. 11, 12.‡	On duty to government. ch. 13.
D. On Virgins. ch. 14.‡	

* Chapter 17, 18, are wanting in the Syriac.

† Chapter 20. is wanting in Syriac. Chapter 21. does not exist, either in *Greek* or in Syriac.

‡ Wanting in Syriac.

§ Both chapters are wanting in the Syriac.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
FIFTH BOOK.	
(A). *On Duties towards Confessors and persecuted Brethren.* ch. 1. first period.	Amplification of the subject. Remainder of ch. 1. and ch. 2—6.
	Interpolated amplification: On Resurrection and the Protomartyrs and false Martyrs. ch. 7—9.
	Concluding exhortations. ch. 10—12.
	(B). *On the Christian Festivals and Fasts.* (The original groundwork is entirely lost by the amplification.) ch. 13—20.
SIXTH BOOK.	
On Marriage and Purity of Men.	On Schisms and Heresies. ch. 1—16. 18.*
On Marriage of Clergy. ch. 17.	
	Essay designed to show that Christ is the perfecter of the Law. ch. 19—26.†
On pretended and real impurity, and on conjugal life. ch. 27—30.	Ch. 24. is decidedly *post-Nicene*, and so probably the whole.

RESULT.

Arranging the ordinances under the four following heads: the Catechumens and Baptism, the Government and Administration of the Church, Worship, and the Domestic and general ethical Institutions or Ordinances, we have the following genuine, although not textual, regulations of the ante-Nicene Church.

I. *On the Catechumens and Baptism.*
Administration of Baptism. Book III. B. ch. 16—19.

II. *On the Government and Administration of the Church.*
On the Office of a Bishop. Book II. A. ch. 1—5. 37—50.

* 15, 16. wanting in S. Ch. 17. wanting in S.
† The greater part of ch. 23. wanting. Ch. 24. wanting in Syriac. 25. wanting.

On the Duties of Deacons and the Ordination of Bishops. Book III. Appendix. ch. 20, 21.

On Widows and Deaconesses. Book III. ch. 1—9. 12—14. 15[a].

On Orphans. Book IV. A. ch. 1—3.

On Virgins. Book IV. D. ch. 14.

On Oblations. Book IV. B. ch. 4—10.

On Confessors and persecuted Brethren. Book V. 1[a].

III. *On Worship, Festivals and Fasts.*

(Groundwork of the regulations on Festivals and Fasts. Book V. B. ch. 13—20.)

IV. *On Domestic and general ethical Institutions and Ordinances.*

On Marriage and conjugal Life. Book VI. ch. 27—30.

On Marriage of Clergy. Book VI. ch. 27.

SECOND CHAPTER.

ANALYSIS OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

THE seventh book is a composition collateral with the first six books, as well as with the eighth. The primitive parts are, on the whole, the same, as to the subjects treated of; and the form is the same, not only as to the fiction of the Apostles themselves delivering their ordinances, but also as to the introduction prefixed to the book, which is of a general, ethic and moralizing character. As to the superscription, or title, it is very vague: "On the Polity (order of Christian community and life), and on the Eucharist (thanksgiving), and on the Christian initiation." *

All this is the work of the compiler. As to the materials, they differ entirely from those of the preceding book, and so does the style. In short, we have here what was once a separate collection of customs and ordinances, of Apostolic authority in another Church; and, on the whole, there is much less re-writing and adjusting of the materials. Still the compiler's hand is here again visible in the last formation. Our author has adopted in the introduction the thoughts and even the expressions of the Epistle of Barnabas, that is to say, of a very early Alexandrian apocryphal writing; whereas the first six books betray merely an imitation of passages from the second Ignatian forgery, which seems to belong, like the first, to Asia Minor, certainly neither to Alexandria nor to Antioch.

Ethical Introduction, ch. 1—18. (and ch. 19. as transition): an exposition of the "two ways," the way of life and the way of death; which is an amplification of the second (the parenetic) part (ch. 18—20.) of the Epistle of Barnabas.

* Περὶ πολιτείας καὶ εὐχαριστίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν μνήσεως.

(*General Instructions for Catechumens and beginning Christians.* I—IV. ch. 20—24.)

I. *Prohibitions against eating what has been sacrificed to Idols.* ch. 20, 21.

II. *On Baptism.* [Ch. 22. Introduction, with reference to "what had already been said on the subject." Some ritual details as to oil and chrisma. *Fasting before baptism is prescribed:* the introduction and the conclusion (which is an explanation why fasting is to take place before and not, as in the case of Christ, after baptism) are the wisdom of the compiler.]

III. *On Feasts and Fasts.* ch. 23.

IV. *On the Lord's Prayer:* to be prayed thrice a day, with devotion. ch. 24.

V. *On the Celebration of the Eucharist.* ch. 25—28.

This section is highly interesting in itself, and most important in showing the history of the corruption of our text, and the way to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Present Order of Section B.

ch. 25. Prayer of thanksgiving before the Communion. No one must communicate who is not baptized.

ch. 26. Prayer of thanksgiving after the Communion.
Verses of Psalms and short allocutions.
"Permit also your presbyters to give thanks."

ch. 27. Prayer of thanksgiving respecting the chrisma (used in baptism).
He who does not properly give thanks must not be admitted.

ch. 28. A righteous prophet or teacher must not be admitted.

It is easy to perceive that this cannot be the original order. What the order was becomes apparent, however, as soon as we separate the two elements which are jumbled together, the formularies of set prayers, and the rest. These formularies are the secondary element, and superadded to some short symbolical antiphonies and epiphonemata, which, as being found in all the liturgies of the Christian world, and being more primitive in themselves, are evidently more ancient

than these collects, which, indeed, are not preserved in any liturgy now known.

This will be made evident, first, by the mere juxta-position of the elements, according to that division.

Canons:

ch. 25. Let nobody partake of the Communion who is not baptized.

ch. 26. end, ch. 27. end. Allow the presbyters (coming to you) to celebrate the Communion (if they say the thanksgiving according to the true faith): otherwise they are not to be allowed to celebrate.

ch. 27. Receive and admit whoever comes to you well tried: to a false teacher give only what is needful, and do not pray with him; but treat a true prophet and teacher with all honour.

Ritual Ordinances.

A. *Ancient Text:* Antiphonies and acclamations immediately preceding the Communion.

"This is Maranatha." (See 1 Cor. xvi. 22.) Sense:
This is the real coming of the Lord. (Found only in this passage.)

"Hosanna to the Son of David:
Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord!"

"God is the Lord:
Who has been made manifest to us in the flesh."

"If one is holy let him draw near:
If he is not, let him become so through penitence."

B. *Later Additions.*

Before the antiphonies:
Prayer before the Communion.
Prayer after the Communion.
After the antiphonies:
Prayer concerning the chrisma.

But, in order to show the origin of our text more palpably, I shall give the present and the restored text of this confused passage:—

PRESENT ORDER.

ch. 25. Εὐχαριστία μυστική.

[Γίνεσθε δὲ πάντοτε εὐχάριστοι, ὡς πιστοὶ καὶ εὐγνώμονες δοῦλοι· περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτως· λέγοντες. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ζωῆς ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας . . . ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον, καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο εἷς ἄρτος· οὕτω συνάγαγέ σου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς σὴν βασιλείαν. . . Ἀμήν. Μηδεὶς δὲ ἐσθιέτω ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμυήτων . . .]

ch. 26. Εὐχαριστία ἐπὶ τῇ θείᾳ μεταλήψει.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν, οὕτως εὐχαριστησάτω· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ Θεὸς . . . καὶ συνάγαγε πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλίαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας· αὕτη μαραναθά· ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· Θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί· εἴ τις ἅγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας· ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖν.

ch. 27. Εὐχαριστία περὶ τοῦ μυστικοῦ μύρου.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεὲ

ANCIENT TEXT.

On the Celebration of the Eucharist.

A. *Ritual Chants before the Communion.*

1. Αὕτη μαραναθά!

2. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

3. Θεὸς κύριος· ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί.

4. Εἴ τις ἅγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, γινέσθω διὰ μετανοίας. (ch. 26. 2nd part.)

B. *Canons respecting the Admission to the Eucharist and Communion.*

1. Μηδεὶς ἐσθιέτω τῶν ἀμυήτων. ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ βεβαπτισμένοι εἰς τὸν τοῦ κυρίου θάνατον· εἰ δέ τις ἀμύητος κρύψας ἑαυτὸν μεταλάβῃ, κρίμα αἰώνιον φάγεται· ὅτι μὴ ὢν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, μετέλαβεν ὧν οὐ θέμις, εἰς τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβῃ, τούτου τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μυήσατε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονητὴς ἐξέλθοι. (ch. 25. end.)

2. Ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ ταῖς πρεσβυτέροις (ἐρχομένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς) εὐχαριστεῖν. (ch. 26. end.)

Present Order.	Ancient Text.
δημιουργὲ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου . . . . ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν. Ὃς ἐὰν ἔλθῃ οὕτως εὐχαριστῇ προσδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητήν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ παρ' ἣν ἡμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖτε· εὐχαριστεῖν· ὑθρίζει γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν Θεὸν ἥπερ δυξάζει.	Ὃς ἂν ἐλθὼν εὐ εὐχαριστῇ, προσδέξασθε ἑαυτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητὴν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ
ch. 28. Ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἀδιαφορεῖν περὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δοκιμασθεὶς, οὕτω δεχέσθω . . . . τῷ δὲ ψευδοδιδασκάλῳ δώσετε μὲν τὰ πρὸς χρείαν, οὐ παραδέξεσθε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην . . .	. . . . . ἥπερ δοξάζει. (ch. 27. end.) 3. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ. . . . . (ch. 28.)

VI. *First-fruits* to be given to the Clergy, and *Tithes* for the Poor. ch. 29.

The first-fruits of wine, must, corn, cattle and sheep, go to the bishop: other first-fruits of the produce of the land are to be given to the clergy in general, the priests (*ἱερεῦσιν*): but first-fruits of silver, and dress, and all property, to the orphan and widow, and the tithes to the poor in general.

VII. The Congregation regularly to give thanks on the *Lord's Day*. ch. 30.

VIII. To *elect* (*προχειρίζειν*) wise and irreproachable men as *Bishops*, and to honour them as fathers and benefactors, and to live in *peace* and *charity* with each other, in keeping of the Lord's commandments, and in watchfulness. ch. 31.

[ch. 32. *Homiletic and liturgical Enlargement.*

An exhortation upon the last times and the Judgment: to which a prayer is attached respecting God's providence in the

ordering of this world, and in the mercy shown to our forefather Abraham, and to Jacob and Moses.]

[ch. 33—38. *Liturgical Interpolation.* To this prayer, again, other prayers are attached, equally for use on Sundays: mostly thanksgivings.]

IX. *On the Instruction and Baptism of Catechumens.* ch. 39., with enlargement in ch. 40—45.

ch. 39. gives a twofold complete *general instruction.*

First, how the catechumen is to be instructed respecting the ways of God from the creation to the salvation through Christ. Secondly, how he, "who is to lay hands upon them," is to give thanks (εὐχαριστεῖν) for the remission of sins, and to pray that God may enlighten and enable the catechumen to be baptized.

This ordinance must first have stood alone, for what follows at the end of the 39th makes a very awkward transition to the particulars which are now given. For it prescribes that after this thanksgiving (of the bishop), the catechumen is to be instructed on the very same subjects which have been enumerated in what precedes.*

ch. 40, 41. Then follows a form of *Renunciation of the Devil* and *Confession of Faith*, preceded by a theological introduction. The *Confession of Faith* is very much in the language of the second interpolation of the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistle to the Magnesians, ch. xi.: in some MSS. only with the post-Nicene interpolation of the words οὐ κτισθέντα after the phrase, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα.

ch. 42, 43. Instruction for prayer in blessing the oil and the water, and then for immersing and anointing him.

ch. 44, 45. Prayer over the chrisma; instruction for the catechumen to pray, standing with his face towards the East, *the Lord's Prayer*, and then another prayer. ch. 45.

All this is a superstructure, built upon the more simple practice described in Book II. n. v. and on ch. 39.

What follows is decidedly a later insertion.

* Καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ταύτην παιδευσάτω αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, τά τε περὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀναλήψεως. (ch. 40, 41.) Καὶ ὅταν ᾖ πρὸς αὐτὸ λοιπὸν τὸ βαπτισθῆναι ὁ κατηχηθείς, κ.τ.λ.

[ch. 46. *Historical Appendix.* *The first bishops* of the Apostolic or most ancient Churches, Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome. Besides these great leading Churches, and names of ancient congregations known from the Acts, almost all the rest are Churches of Asia Minor, and, in particular, the district in which the forged epistles of Ignatius move, viz.:

Ephesus,	Pergamus,	Colossæ,
Smyrna,	Laodicea,	Galatia.
Philadelphia,		

The other Churches named are Cenchreæ, Crete and Athens, besides Tripolis in Phœnicia and Marathon.]

All this is a very late and poor interpolation of the same stamp as that of the heresies, and historically not much better than the Catalogue of the Apostles and the seventy Disciples of Pseudo-Hippolytus.

[ch. 47—49. *Liturgical Appendix.* Forms for morning and evening prayer, and for grace before luncheon.]

RECAPITULATION.

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS OF THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
	Ethical introduction. ch. 1—19.
I. Prohibition to eat sacrificial meat. ch. 20, 21.	
II. Ritual of Baptism. (Groundwork of ch. 22.)	
III. On Feasts and Fasts. ch. 23.	
IV. On the praying of the Lord's Prayer. ch. 24.	
V. On the celebration of the Eucharist. ch. 25—28. (without the formularies).	Liturgical formularies of Prayer in ch. 25—28.
VI. On First-fruits to be given	

Ancient Materials.	Additions of the literary Compiler, and Interpolations.
to the Clergy, and Tithes for the Poor. ch. 29.	
VII. On the celebration of the Lord's Day. ch. 30.	
VIII. On election of Bishops, and honour due to them. ch. 31.	
	Homiletic and liturgical enlargement and interpolation. ch. 32—38.
IX. On the Instruction and Baptism of Catechumens. ch. 39[a].	
	Ritual enlargement upon the Baptism. ch. 39[b]—45.
	Appendix. List of the first Bishops of the ancient Churches. ch. 46.
	Liturgical Appendix. ch. 47—49.

RESULT.

According to the four general heads of ancient regulations, as mentioned in the Recapitulation of the Contents of the first Six Books, we have the following Table:

I. *On the Catechumens and Baptism.*
Ritual of Baptism. II. ch. 22.
Instruction and Baptism of Catechumens. IX. ch. 39[a].

II. *On the Government and Administration of the Church.*
On Bishops and their Election. VIII. ch. 31.
On First-fruits and Tithes. VI. ch. 29.

III. *On Worship.*
On Feasts and Fasts. III. ch. 23.
On celebration of the Lord's Day. VII. ch. 30.
On the celebration of the Eucharist. V. ch. 25—28.

IV. *Domestic Regulations and ethical Instructions and Ordinances.*
Prohibition to eat sacrificial Meat. I. ch. 20—21.
On the praying of the Lord's Prayer. IV. ch. 24.

THIRD CHAPTER.

ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Barocian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
Introduction. Identical.	A. *Introduction.* Ch. I. II.
	Ch. I. II. On the gifts of the Holy Spirit.
	B. *On Ordination and Institution for ecclesiastical Offices.* Ch. IV. V. XVI.—XXVI.
	[Ch. III. is a very awkward transition from the Introduction to the Ordinances on Ordination.]
Ch. I. Identical.	Ch. IV. *On the Election and Ordination of a Bishop.*
Inscription: Περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου.	(The bishop to be elected by the people, an irreproachable, distinguished man.* If he accept, the people on a Sunday, in presence of presbytery and bishops, declare their pleasure. The most eminent (πρόκριτος) of the bishops present ascertains, by asking the question three times, whether this person be the man of their choice, and whether any objection is brought forward against him.

The bishops assembled for the purpose are those of the neighbourhood, as corresponding passages show: the πρόκριτος is the bishop of the principal town. This alone is the historical sense of the much misunderstood 35th of the Apostolical Canons. Thus Rome was the metropolis, and the bishop the πρόκριτος, with respect to Tusculum, Ostia, Portus, and the other suburban towns.

* Ἀριστίνδην, read with the old text ἄριστον.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Barroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
Ch. II. A shorter and better form, without the addition respecting the service.	Ch. V. *Prayer of Ordination.* [At the end there is an evident appendix, to serve as transition to the following interpolated Order of the Communion Service or Liturgy. This appendix contains the Order of the preparatory Morning Service.]
	[Ch. VI.—XV. The Liturgy. The whole of the service, including the Prayer of Consecration, is written down.] An interpolation not earlier than the fifth century.
Ch. III. IV. Identical, with a few various readings.	Ch. XVI. Ordination of *Presbyter:* and Prayer. He is to be instituted according to the voice of the whole presbytery.
Ch. V. VI. Identical.	Ch. XVII. XVIII. Ordination of *Deacon:* and Prayer.
Ch. VII. VIII. Identical.	Ch. XIX. XX. Ordination of *Deaconess:* and Prayer.
[Ch. IX. X. Identical.]	[Ch. XXI. Ordination of *Sub-deacon:* and Prayer.]
Ch. XI. No imposition of hands: the Bible is held over his head. In other respects identical.	Ch. XXII. Ordination of *Lector:* [and Prayer.] [Imposition of hands prescribed.]
Ch. XII.—XV. On Confessors, Virgins, Widows, Exorcists: identical.	Ch. XXIII. On *Confessors.* Ch. XXIV. On *Virgins.* Ch. XXV. On *Widows.* Ch. XXVI. On *Exorcists.*
	C. *Another series of Canons, on the Nature of the different ecclesiastical Offices.*
Ch. XVI. Identical.	Ch. XXVII. That a Bishop is not to be ordained by one, but by three or two. Only in time of persecution, or some similar reason, an exception

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
	may be made, but then several bishops must decree it.
In both ascribed to "Simon the Cananite."	
Ch. XVII. Identical.	Ch. XXVIII. The precise difference in the Functions of Bishop, Presbyter, Deacon, and the others, down to Lector, Cantor, and Deaconess. Ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ οὐκ εὐλογεῖται, &c.
In both ascribed to "the same."	
	[Ch. XXIX. On the Blessing of Water and Oil.] (Evident insertion: also not in the other text)
	D. *On First-fruits, Tithes, and the remains of Oblations.*
Ch. XVIII. Identical: except that at the end the deacons are simply designated as ὑπηρετούμενοι, and therefore "διακόνων" (added in the other text) is omitted.	Ch. XXX. On First-fruits and Tithes.
Ch. XIX. Περὶ εὐλογιῶν. Identical. Here seems to have been anciently the conclusion of a section, for there is written after ch. xix.: Περὶ χειροτονιῶν καὶ ἑτέρων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καταστάσεων (sc. "explicit," terminates).	Ch. XXXI. Περὶ περισσευμάτων.
	E. *On the Presentation, Admission, Instruction, and Baptism of the Catechumens.* Ch. XXXII[a]. (Ascribed to St. Paul) with the addition περὶ κανόνων, which has no meaning: read περὶ κατηχουμένων, which is the primitive inscription of this section.
Ch. XX[a]. Identical	A most ancient and original Ordinance.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Baroccian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
	F. *Rules for Christian Domestic Life.* Ch. XXXII[b].—XXXIV.
Ch. XX[b]. Identical.	Ch. XXXII[b]. The last two injunctions contained in the chapter headed "On Catechumens" do not refer at all to this subject, but contain the beginning of the rules for domestic life; and they are the original primitive text: the last two injunctions are awkward additions. 1. All believers, men or women, to pray when they have risen, after having washed: if they can hear an instruction (κατήχησις, a sermon) they are to avail themselves of it, instead of immediately going to work. 2. Believers, men or women, must treat their servants well.
Ch. XXI. Identical.	Ch. XXXIII. Which are the days for the Servants to work, and which are holidays.
Ch. XXII. Identical.	Ch. XXXIV. Times for praying. [Added XXXV.—XLI. Different forms of prayer: morning and evening prayer, and others.]
	G. *On the Commemoration of the Dead.* Ch. XLII. XLIII.
Ch. XXIII. Identical.	Ch. XLII. Days for the Commemoration of the Dead.
Ch. XXIV. Identical.	Ch. XLIII. On behaviour at the Funeral Repast.

The purer Text, from the Vienna and Oxford (Barocian) manuscripts, with the name of Hippolytus following.	The ordinary interpolated Text of the VIIIth Book.
	H. *Duties towards those who are persecuted for the Faith.*
Ch. XXV. Identical.	Ch. XLIV.
	I. *On Good Order.*
Ch. XXVI. Περὶ εὐταξίας. Identical. Θεῷ after Χριστῷ is not in this text.	Ch. XLV. That nobody is to overstep the limits of his Office. [Conclusion.] After Χριστῷ, "Θεῷ" is added.

RESULT.

The genuine Ordinances of the Eighth Book, arranged according to our four heads, give the following Table:

I. *On Catechumens and Baptism.*

General regulation respecting Catechumens. Ch. XX[a].

II. *On Government and Administration of the Church.*

On Ordination and Institution for ecclesiastical Offices. Ch. I.—VIII. XI.—XV.
A Bishop to be ordained by two or three. Ch. XVI.
On the character of the different clerical Functions. Ch. XVII.
On the First-fruits and Tithes. Ch. XVIII.
On the sacred Remains. Ch. XIX.
On Duties towards Confessors. Ch. XXV.

III. *On Worship and Funeral Meetings.*

On Holidays. Ch. XXI.
On Times for Prayer. Ch. XXII.
On Days for Commemoration of the Dead. Ch. XXIII.
On behaviour at a Funeral Repast. Ch. XXIV.

IV. *Domestic and Ethical Regulations.*

(Early Prayer. Treatment of Servants.) Ch. XX[a].
On good Order. Ch. XXVI.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

THE APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ALEXANDRIA, AS PRESERVED IN THE NATIONAL CHURCH, COMPARED WITH THE GREEK TEXTS.

This collection has in general the form of the Greek Constitutions. The Ordinances are called "Canons of the Apostles, by the hand of Clement;" and this fiction is carried through in the same manner and spirit, although the words are different. Vansleb, in his "Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie" (1677), says that this Collection is common to the Coptic Church and to the Syrian Christians (as it appears, both the Jacobite and the Melchite, or Catholic, party), by whom they were translated into Arabic; and, finally, to the Abyssinians, who, he states, have preserved them in their own language. He also mentions the Nestorians; which, if it be not an inaccurate expression of the Arabic author whom he quotes, would prove that the Syrian Christians in Kurdistan (Assyria), commonly called Chaldeans and Nestorians, had the same Canons as the Monophysite Syrians and Egyptians. Unfortunately, we know nothing as yet authentically about that ancient, and, down to our own times, cruelly persecuted, national Church in ancient Assyria. The Protestant missionaries have given us conjectures, rather than facts by which alone they can be judged: the publication of their Liturgy and other sacred books would be of the greatest interest, and a few pages in their own actual language would put an end to all uncertainty as to their primitive nationality. I cannot help hoping, however, that the American missionaries, to whom we owe all the good that has hitherto been done among these Syrians, may soon give us their Apostolic Canons, as well as their Liturgy and other sacred records, in their original language. As to the Abyssinian version of this same collection, its existence is vouched for by other authority than that of Vansleb;

for we know through Ludolf the beginning of the Ethiopic text of those Coptic Canons, which exhibits some interesting differences, as we shall have occasion to remark when treating of the details. The Abyssinian Church has, besides, another collection of 38 Apostolical Canons. It is sufficient to look over their titles, as given by Vansleb and Ludolf, to be convinced that it is entirely different from the Coptic Canons published in 1848, for the Oriental Translation Fund, by Archdeacon Tattam, with an English translation and a learned introduction.

The object of our present inquiry is to show, by a comparison with the Greek texts, both the common traditional stock of the Egyptian collection, and its national originality.

The division of the work seems to be fanciful and contradictory. The text of the Syrian Church enumerates 83 Canons, that of the so-called Nestorians 82; whereas the Coptic text is, according to him, divided into two books, of which the first contains 71, the second 56, together 127. The fact is, that these numbers are arbitrary, and denote sometimes chapters, sometimes only paragraphs.

The two MSS. published by Tattam have quite a different division. Apparently they constitute eight books: but this number is evidently fictitious; for the eighth book is nothing but the well-known Apostolic Canons of the Greek Church, and the remaining seven books dwindle into six. For the number of seven is only obtained by calling the first book "also the second," and the second "also the third," and so on; consequently the sixth is called "also the seventh."

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that our six books of Constitutions or Ordinances are the prototype of the Coptic Canons. On the contrary, the Coptic Canons are intimately connected with the eighth book of the Greek collection, but only with its purer text. On the whole, this Egyptian document gives us, more than any other, the key to the origin of the so-called "Ordinances of the Apostles," and proves the antiquity both of the materials and of the fiction. It is deeply to be regretted that it has been attempted to maintain by such a fiction the Apostolicity of the ancient customs and ordinances of the Church, which, when rightly understood, is undeniable: but it certainly is an ante-Nicene one.

As these Canons are therefore highly important, and have never

yet been noticed in ecclesiastical literature, I shall give the contents complete, and what is original literally.*

Book the First. Can. 1—30.

Ethical Introduction, and Offices and Ministrations of the Church.

Introduction and ethical Preamble.
Can. 1—14.

[1] According to Christ's commands, the twelve Apostles, before they separated to go into the countries which they had divided amongst them, assembled in order to make the necessary appointments of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, and Widows, and all other regulations for good order in the Churches. They begin with delivering, each in his turn, ethical precepts, founded upon the Decalogue and the Gospel. Among them, St. John points out "the two ways, one of life, the other of death;" Thomas, the duty of gratitude to the teacher. Bartholomew concludes by reminding the Christians that the day of the Lord draweth nigh, and adds the remarkable words: "Be ye lawgivers to your own selves; be ye teachers to yourselves alone, as God hath taught you."

[1] As to the general idea only, the introduction is analogous to the two ethical introductions of the first and of the seventh books of the Greek Constitutions. But the way the fiction is carried out is in some parts quite original as to the thought, and always as to the expression. "The two ways" are known to us from the introduction of the seventh book: but here Barnabas is not plagiarised. The concluding sentence, put into the mouth of Bartholomew, is worth all the rest, and original. It is very possible that the man who wrote the Epistle called after Barnabas had our more simple treatise before him. At all events, we have here a genuine old work: there is no literary gloss yet put over the materials.

* The Greek text of the Coptic First Book (printed in Bioxell's Geschichte des Kirchenrechts, 1843, p. 107.) is given in the second volume of the Analecta, 1854.

On the Offices and Ministrations of the Church. Can. 15—28.
(Put into the mouth of St. Peter.)

1. [1] *On the Election of the Bishop.* — Whenever there are in a place twelve men ready to provide for the maintenance of a Bishop, let them write to the Churches around them, and send three chosen men to examine the candidate, to see whether he is a lover of the poor, wise and virtuous, and of good repute. "If he have not a wife, it is a good thing: but if he have married a wife, having children, let him abide with her, continuing steadfast in every doctrine, able to explain the Scriptures well: but if he be ignorant of literature, let him be meek." Can. 16. 17.

2. [2] *On the Ordaining of Elders.* — The Bishop is to ordain two elderly men as Elders, or rather three: both to support the Bishop and to make the people love their shepherd. In particular, however, the one is to have the care of the altar and of those who belong to it, the other of the wants of the people. Can. 17—19.

3. [3] *On Appointment of Deacons.* — Three men at least are

[1] This rule also represents a more ancient and primitive state than any of the corresponding ones in the Greek Constitutions. The Bishop is simply the rector of "the place," that is to say, a παροικία, parish and diocese together, in the old sense: a town or borough with the surrounding estates and farms (villæ), the villages of that time. Twelve faithful men are sufficient to demand of the adjoining Churches a Bishop: they select three persons to examine the candidate who is proposed. The Bishop is not self-made, he is proposed by Churches already constituted, or at least ordained by the Bishops of the neighbouring towns or boroughs; but only after examination and approbation. No objection is made to a wife and children. Want of learning may be excused by much meekness.

[2] Again, a specimen of highest simplicity, Elders combining spiritual with administrative duties. The real reason for having three Elders appears to have been this. A provision seemed necessary to prevent an interruption of the twofold service; the ecclesiastical and the congregational inspection. If there were only two Elders, it might often happen that the one branch of the office was neglected. In canons 18 and 19, this is quaintly and mystically founded upon there being in the Apocalypse twelve elders to the right, and twelve to the left; a prototype chosen because they sit round the throne (Apoc. iv. 4. 6), therefore right and left, as it were, alternating in their services.

[3] The Deacons appear here in their primitive ministration.

to testify to their godly life, as having had one wife, and brought up their children well: they are to care for the poor, by making the rich contribute to their necessities. Can. 20. Another recension, to the same purpose, in Can. 22.

4. [1] *On the Appointment of Widows.*—Two; one for praying and thanksgiving, the other for ministering to the sick women. Can. 21.

4a. On the Christian *conduct of the Laymen* towards those who serve at the altar. Can. 23.

5. [2] On the service of women as *Deaconesses*, and for the indigent; and on their good behaviour. Can. 24—28. The Apostles agree that women have nothing to do with the ministration at the Eucharist, but can only be made serviceable as nursing the sick and poor.

[3] Conclusion of the book (which is the first book), enjoining the ordinances as commands of Christ. Can. 29. 30. (This conclusion is evidently an addition: it is, also, not found in the Ethiopic text.)

[1] An original and primitive regulation.

[2] In can. 26. a strange allusion is made to a tradition, probably contained in the "Gospel according to the Egyptians," about a conversation of Christ with Mary and Martha. "Martha said about Mary: Look how she laughs. Mary said: I laughed not. (What follows is conjectural, for both texts are now unintelligible.) But what the Lord said is good: the weak when comforted will be strong" (the weakness of woman may be strengthened). In the conversations of Christ with his disciples, after his resurrection, as related in the Pistis Sophia, Mary and Martha are very conspicuous interlocutors.

[3] This book therefore answers in its second part to the second section, both of the first and the eighth books; and, as to the first or introductory part, to the introduction both of the first and seventh of the Greek Constitutions.

Book the Second. Can. 31—62.

A. [1] *On the Ordination and Institution of the Bishops and Elders and the Ministrants of the Church.* Can. 31—39.

(6.) 1. *The Ordination of the Bishop.*—The Bishop, chosen by all the people and being found blameless, is to be ordained in the congregation on the Lord's day, all the Bishops consenting[2], [they laying their hands on him.] The Presbyters standing by, all praying that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him, the most eminent among the Bishops is to lay his hands upon him. After ordination he receives from all the kiss of peace; after which he administers the Communion, putting his hands upon the Eucharist with the Presbyters. He then says the Thanksgiving:

[3] "The Lord be with you all," &c. (the Præfatio: the people saying the answers.)

And then he is to pray according to the custom of the Oblation (προσφορά). Can. 31.

[1] The whole of this part corresponds as to the contents, and in part as to the wording, with the *first section of the eighth book in its purer form* (Pseudo-Hippolytus), as preserved by the Vienna and Oxford MSS.

[2] The Coptic, as well as Arabic text, are not very clear. It is evident that all the Bishops (of the neighbourhood) are present; it appears that the most eminent (literally, he who is worthy amongst them, which is meant as a translation of πρόκριτος) is the *first* to lay his hand on his head, and to pray over him in the name of the congregation. As this was not understood afterwards, a clause was inserted to make the whole more in harmony with the later custom. This now forms an awkward interpolation (the words put between brackets); Tattam inserts "the bishops," which is not in the text.

[3] "The Thanksgiving" begins with the "Præfatio." The Bishop is then to go through the service of the "Oblation" according to the custom. No form of prayer is prescribed. This receives its explanation by can. 34. (The Abyssinian text has here formularies for the prayer of consecration, for the communion and the benediction.)

(7.) 2. *On the Ordination of the Elders.* — By the Bishop, all the Elders touching his head. Then he is prayed over, exactly as the Bishop. Can. 32. (See Addition, after Can. 33.)

(8.) 3. [1] *On the Ordination of Deacons.* — The Bishop alone lays his hand upon him, because the Deacon is ordained for his service (ὑπηρεσία). The Deacon is not to be a member of the council (συμβούλιον) of the clergy (κλῆρος), but to take care of the sick. Can. 33.

[2] *Addition* to Can. 32. on the *Presbyter.* — "The Bishop shall ordain the Presbyter, that he may receive the Spirit. The Presbyter has no power to give it to the clergy. He can only give the seal (σφραγίζειν) in baptism (afterwards in confirmation)."

(9.) 4. [3] *On Confessors.* — The pure Confessor (ὁμολογήτης) is not ordained as a Deacon or an Elder, "for he hath the honour of priesthood by his confession;" only if he is to be a Bishop,

[1] The canon describes the position of the Deacon as it was immediately after the age of the Apostles. They became naturally the helpers (aids) of the Bishops, and therefore frequently their successors (see Ignatian Letters), but they had neither voice nor place in the presbytery, or, as it is here called, the council.

[2] This gloss, awkwardly inserted was evidently put in to mark the difference between Bishop and Presbyter more than had been done by the original canon. The end has not been understood by Tattam, who translates "the Presbyter is sealed only," which the Coptic text justifies grammatically, but which conveys no sense. The meaning can only be that the Presbyter may seal (anoint) the catechumens in baptism. This is the sense of the canons of the Church of Egypt, as can. 45. shows. Comp. Bingham, Orig. xi. 1. 56. In later times, when pedobaptism prevailed, it applied to confirmation. The Egyptian Presbyters had the right to confirm at the end of the third century. See my Ignatian Letters, p. 119—123.

[3] The true Confessors, that is to say, those who had been reviled and punished by the authorities merely for the Lord's name (as Christians), become, in right of persecution, Deacons or Elders, without ordination. To be Bishops, however, they must be pre-

they shall lay hands on him, and he then shall "give thanks" (celebrate the communion) as before explained. He should learn (for that purpose) all that has been ordained by the Apostles, for saying Thanksgivings. "But every one shall pray according to his ability: but if he be able to pray suitably, and the prayer be acceptable, it is good. But if, when he again prays, he utter a prayer in (a certain) measure, no one forbidding him, let him only pray in an orthodox manner." Can. 34.

(10.) 5. *On the Appointment* (καθιστᾶν) *of the Reader.*—The Bible is delivered to him, and a prayer said over him by the Bishop, but without imposition of hands. Can. 35.

[6. [1] *On the Naming* (ὀνομάζειν) *of the Subdeacon.*—He is simply to be named. Can. 36.]

(11.) 6. [2] *On the Naming of Widows.*—"But when a widow is appointed (καθιστᾶν), she shall not be ordained (χειροτονεῖν), but chosen by name (expressed in Coptic words). Her husband must have been dead a long time.

viously ordained. As, although very pious, they might still be illiterate, they are, on the first occasion of their celebrating the communion, exhorted to keep to what is customary or otherwise safe. They might use the Lord's prayer alone, as, St. Gregory says, anciently was done. But afterwards they may pray as the Spirit gives them utterance, provided they say nothing against the right faith. This proves that the prayer of consecration was not prescribed, and it does not imply that there were standing formularies even for the other prayers in the service. There were only fixed watchwords, and symbolical anthems of exhortation or adoration, which established a certain regular course of celebration.

[1] An insertion, probably post-Nicene; the Subdeacon was unknown in the Eastern Church before the time of Athanasius. The fact of the interpolation is, at all events, proved by the first words of the next canon, which refers to can. 5. Pseudo-Hippolytus and the eighth book have the same interpolation.

[2] Compare the analogous canon of book I. (can. 21.), where the double office of Widow is explained (prayer and nursing).

Even if she be old, let her be proved for a time; "for (adds the wise canon) the passions frequently long survive, and will have place in them." Can. 37.

Addition.—No laying on of hands: for a Widow has not to perform any public service (λειτουργία): she is appointed for prayer.

(12.) 7. *On Virgins.*—"It is her choice that makes her a virgin:" therefore no laying on of hands. Can. 38.

(13.) 8. [1] *On the Gifts of healing.*—"If one shall say, I have received the gifts of healing by a revelation, they shall not lay hands on him, for the thing itself will be manifest, if he speak the truth." Can. 39.

[1] An entirely original canon. It proves that healings were wrought in the ancient Church as in the time of the Apostles, by touching the patient, by laying on of hands and praying; and the rule given is true Christian wisdom, founded upon experience.

B. [2]*On Catechumens.* Can. 40—46.

"*Of new Men who have not arrived at the faith.*

(14.) 9. "But those who shall be brought[3] into the new faith to hear the word, let them be brought in first to the teachers," before the people come in[4]; and they shall inquire the cause of the thing, for what reason they have drawn near to the faith. And let those who introduce them witness for them, if (on that) they be able to hear the word. And let them inquire

[2] The first very old and very generally received part of this section (can. 40—42.) agrees (with a slight difference in details) literally with ch. xx. of Pseudo-Hippolytus and Ap. Constitutt. book VIII. ch. xxxii. And our text is evidently more primitive, because it has not, like the Greek texts, three short ancient canons at the end, which do not belong at all to the catechumenic regulations. (See note 16.)

[3] According to the Greek text the catechumens are to be brought before the Bishop, and, as it appears, by the Deacons. Our text shows, therefore, a greater liberty: respectable laymen, also, might present catechumens.

[4] This clause is wanting in the Greek.

after their life, of what sort it is; whether he has a wife[1], or if he is a servant of a believer, and that this has pleased his master, *then* let him hear. If his master has not given him a testimonial that he is good, let him be rejected. If his master be a heathen, he must be taught that he should please his master, that the Word may not be blasphemed. But if he be one who has a wife, or she a woman who has a husband, let them be taught that the man should content himself with his wife, and that the wife should content herself with her husband. But if he be one who has not dwelt with a wife, let him be taught not to commit fornication, but either that he marry according to the law, or that he remain (single) according to the law.[2] But if one has a demon, let him not hear the word of teaching until he has been purified."[3] Can. 40.

[1] Wanting in the Greek.

[2] Here the Greek text has a beautiful insertion, evidently of European or Asiatic origin: "But if the master being a believer, and knowing that the servant commits fornication, does not give him a wife, or to the woman a husband, let him (the master) be rejected."

[3] Here the Greek text has the addition: "But if, however, death is imminent, let him be admitted."

Of Actions and Works.[4]

(15.) 10. They shall inquire after the actions and works of those who shall be brought in,

[4] This title, and the first paragraph, are Egyptian additions.

what they are, that they may appoint them.

If one has been a bawd, who is a supporter of prostitutes, let him cease, or let him be rejected.[1] But if one is a maker of shrines, or a painter (of idols), let such be taught that they should not make idols. Let them cease, or let them be cast out.

If one has a mania for theatrical shows, or if he has been a declaimer in the theatre, let him cease, or let him be cast out. If he teach the young (in theatrical shows) it is good that he should cease. If he does not make a trade of it, let him be forgiven. Likewise he who is guilty of taking a part in the games, and goes into the games, let him cease, or let him be cast out. One who is a gladiator, or he who teaches gladiators to fight, or a hunter in the beast-fight, or a public servant in the gladiatorium; let them cease, or let them be cast out.

One who is a priest of the idols, or he who is a keeper of the idols; let them cease, or let them be cast out.[2]

A soldier who is in authority (ἐξουσία)[3], let him not kill a man; or, if he is commanded, let him not hasten to the act; neither let him swear.[4] But, if he is not willing (to observe these commands), let him be rejected.

[1] Greek text adds: "If a whore gives her name, let her cease or be rejected."

[2] Not in the Greek text.

[3] The Greek text has simply: στρατιώτης προσιών, a soldier who gives his name. I suspect here the Coptic text: and also in what follows.

[4] Instead of the prohibition not to kill a man, &c., the Greek has: Let him neither do injustice (ἀδικεῖν), nor be a

[1] One who has authority over the sword, or a ruler of a city clothed in purple, let him cease, or let him be rejected.

A catechumen, or a faithful person, if they have desired to be soldiers[2], let them be rejected, because they have despised God.

[3] A harlot, or luxurious man, or one who has been cut off, or who has done any other thing which it is not becoming to mention; let them be rejected, for they are impure: neither shall they bring a magician to the examination. An enchanter, or an astrologer, or a diviner, or an interpreter of dreams, or mountebank, or one who makes charms to be bound round the body, or conjurors of serpents, or who make amulets; let them cease, or let them be cast out.[4]

sycophant, and let him be satisfied with his stipend; if he submits to this, let him be received.

[1] This and the next paragraph are peculiar to the Coptic. The purple was considered a sign of Pagan sacerdotal dignity, and therefore abhorred. (Tertullian.)

[2] This regulation evidently supposes heathen armies and heathen emperors.

[3] The same in the Greek, only more explicit.

[4] The Greek text has here an infinity of names for men exercising forbidden magic, and wicked arts. The Coptic text has only a few, but among them the unknown word ψαλλίστης, which is probably a misspelling for ψυλλίστης, in the sense of ψυλλικός (Hesych.), a man who uses the art of the Psylli, or Libyan conjurors of serpents. The Arabic text is also confused, and Tattam's translation decidedly wrong. What he calls "destroyer of the fringes of the garment," must mean a man who makes amuletic περιάμματα, charms like the φυλακτήρια (amulets).

[1] But a concubine, if she be a slave, if she have brought up her children, and live with one man alone, let her hear (the word). If she hath not, let her be rejected.

A man[2] who has a concubine, let him leave off that course, and let him marry according to the law; but, if he will not, let him be cast out.

[3] But if we have omitted any thing, the things will teach you, for we all have the Spirit of God. Can. 41.

Of the Time for Persons to hear the Word after the Actions and Works.

(16.) 11. [4] Let the catechumens be three years hearing the word; but if one has been diligent, and persevere well in the work, the time shall not decide, but the application alone shall entirely decide it. Can. 42.[5]

Of the Praying of those who hear the Word.

(17.) 12. When the teacher has ceased exhorting, let the ca-

[1] The Greek text is more precise: "A concubine who is the slave of an infidel, and lives with him alone, let her be received: but, if she has also intercourse with others, let her be rejected."

[2] More explicit in the Greek: "A faithful;" which of course is also meant by the Coptic. In what follows, the wording is more precise: "Whoever has a concubine that is his slave, let him cease; if she be a free woman, let him marry her," &c. Then follows: "If she be engaged to a faithful slave, let her cease or be rejected." "Whoever follows Greek rites (ἔθη) or Judaic fables, let him change his life, or be rejected."

[3] This beautiful spirited reserve, which is found in all the texts, marks the difference between the Apostolical age and that of the ecclesiastical system, or the canonical.

[4] This is the ordinary period in all ordinances. In later times this period is thus subdivided: one year simple Catechumens; the second year Hearers; the third Competentes, or Candidates for Baptism.

[5] The Greek has appended to these catechumenic regulations three ancient canons, but added here arbitrarily: the Coptic and (as we soon shall see) the Syriac texts have them in a more appropriate place. They are: that a layman may teach, all being taught by the Lord, that the Christians are to

techumens pray by themselves apart, and the faithful. And let the women stand praying in a place in the church, apart by themselves, whether the faithful women, or the female catechumens. And when they leave off praying, let them not give the salutation before they have become pure.

Let the faithful salute one another, the men the men alone, and the women the women. But let not a man salute a woman. And let none of the women cover their heads with a pallium[1], but with a fine cloth of cotton alone, for this is their veil. Can. 43.

Of the Laying of Hands upon the Catechumens.

(18.) 13. When the teacher after the prayer shall lay his hands upon the catechumens, let him pray when he dismisses them[2]: whether he be an ecclesiastic or a layman who delivers it, let him do thus.

[3] If a catechumen has been apprehended for the name of the Lord, let him not hesitate concerning the testimony; for if it has come to pass, that they have taken him by violence, that they may kill him, he will be justified in the forgiveness of his sins, for pray when rising, and if possible to hear a sermon, and that they are to be gentle masters to their servants.

This and the remaining chapters of the present section are peculiar to the Coptic. They bear the stamp of high antiquity, and betray here and there evident marks of Egyptian superstition, and Alexandrian mysticism. The Egyptian superstition shows itself in the dread of the power of the demons, as the concrete fear of the unknown divine element in nature. The Alexandrian mysticism which manifests itself in these ordinances, is a compound of Judaism and the original religion of the country.

[1] The *Pallium* (Copt. pallin, instead of πάλλιον) must mean a large and costly veil: thus pallium is used by Prudentius in the sense of *velum*. Tattam has Ballin (the Arabic mode of writing), and adds: "What kind of covering it means, I do not know."

[2] A precious remnant of the primitive Apostolic privilege enjoyed by every member of the congregation of teaching and praying.

[3] This alludes to the celebrated *baptismus sanguinis*, the baptism of blood.

he will have received baptism in his own blood. Can. 44.

Of those who shall receive Baptism.

(19.) 14. [1] And when those appointed to receive baptism have been chosen, *and* when their life has been investigated, if they have lived in chastity during their catechumenship; if they have honoured the Widows, if they have visited the sick, if they have fulfilled every good work[2]; and if those who introduced them have witnessed to them that they have done thus, let them hear the Gospel. And at the time when they shall be dismissed, let hands be laid upon them in that day, and let them be exorcised.

[3] And when the day approaches in which they shall be baptized, let the Bishop exorcise each of them, that he may know that they are pure. But if any one be not good, or be not clean, let him be put apart, that he may not hear the word with the faithful; for it is not possible that a stranger can ever be concealed. Let them teach those appointed for baptism that they should wash and be made free (clean?); that they should be *such* on the fifth sabbath (after Easter). And if there is a wo-

[1] This refers to the latter stage of the preparatory training of the catechumen. It is the finest specimen of the earnestness of the ancient Church to provide that baptism should not be a mere form.

[2] After a testimonial has been given to them by the brethren able to observe and judge of them, the catechumens become Hearers (Ἀκροαταί, Auditores). The Coptic Church has only these two stages: the later Church generally three classes.

[3] Immediate preparations before baptism are, purification and exorcism (by the Bishop laying his hands on the catechumens).

man who is after the custom of women, let her be put apart, and let her receive baptism another day.

[1] Let those who shall receive baptism, fast on the preparation (vigil) of the sabbath.

[2] But on the sabbath when those who are to receive baptism have been gathered together in in one place, by the advice of the Bishop, let them all be commanded to pray, and to kneel; and when he has laid his hand upon them, let him exorcise every strange spirit to flee from them, and not to return into them from that time. And when he has finished exorcising, let him breathe on them; and when he has sealed their foreheads, and their ears, and the opening of their mouths, let him raise them up; and let some watch all the night, reading to them, and exhorting them. [3] And let those who shall receive baptism not eat any thing, but what each one shall bring in for the thanksgiving; for it is becoming in him who is worthy to bring in his offering immediately. Can. 45.

[1] Fasting on the Paraskeue (as the Coptic word is) of the sabbath, that is to say, on the Friday.

[2] On the Saturday the Bishop prays with them, and laying his hands upon them exorcises them, breathes on them (as Christ did on the Apostles), and seals their foreheads, ears, and lips (with the sign of the cross).

[3] Another very primitive feature. They all bring with them their symbols, their offerings for the first communion and love meal with the faithful; and of this his contribution every one makes his food during the night from Saturday to Sunday.

Of the Celebration of holy Baptism.

(20.) 15. [4] And at the time of the crowing of the cock let

[4] The blessing of the water at the dawn of day.

them first pray over the water. Let the water be drawn into the font or flow into it. And let it be thus, if they have no scarcity. But if there be a scarcity, let them pour the water which shall be at hand into the font; and let them undress themselves, and and the young shall be first baptized. And all who are able to answer for themselves let them answer. [1] But those who are not able to answer, let their parents answer for them, or some other of their relations. And after the adult men have been baptized, afterwards the women, when they have loosed their hair, and laid aside the ornaments of gold and silver which they wore. Let no one take a strange garment with him into the water.

[2] And at the time appointed for the baptism, let the Bishop give thanks over the oil, which, putting into a vessel, he shall call the oil of thanksgiving. Again he shall take other oil, *and* exorcising over it, he shall call it the oil of exorcism. And a Deacon shall bear the oil of exorcism, and stand on the left hand of the Presbyter. Another Deacon shall take the oil of thanksgiving, and stand on the right hand of the Presbyter.

[3] And when the Presbyter has taken hold of each of those who are

[1] Here the baptism of children (not infants) is evidently mentioned as an exceptional case; for the instruction respecting the training is, as we have seen, general, and supposes that all catechumens are not only able to walk, but also to be instructed, and have indeed learned what is needful.

[2] Blessing of the oil. The peculiarity here is, that the oil is divided into two parts: the oil of exorcism and the oil of thanksgiving. The one is used immediately before, the other immediately after baptism.

[3] The renunciation of Satan, after which the catechumen is anointed with the oil of exorcism.

about to receive baptism, let him command him to renounce, saying: "I will renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service, and all thy works." And when he has renounced all these, let him anoint him with the oil of exorcism, saying: "Let every evil spirit depart from thee."

[1] And let the Bishop or Presbyter receive him thus undressed, and place him in the water of baptism. Also let the Deacon go with him into the water, repeating before him the following words to assist him: [2] "I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty, and in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the quickener [the consubstantial Trinity, Τριὰς ὁμοούσιος]; one Lordship, one Kingdom, one Faith, one Baptism, in the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, in the life everlasting. Amen."

And let him who receives (baptism) repeat after all these: "I believe thus." And he who bestows it shall lay his hand upon the head of him who receives, dipping him three times, making this confession each time.

[3] And afterwards let him say again: "Dost thou believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only

[1] The immersion, and the public confession of the Christian faith in Father, Son, and Spirit.

[2] On this text and its history, see the Third Volume.

[3] This is the peculiar confession of the true faith respecting Jesus the Christ, and the Spirit. It is evidently

Son of God the Father; that he became man in a wonderful manner for us, by an incomprehensible union through His Holy Spirit with Mary the Holy Virgin, without the seed of man; and that he was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, died of his own will once for our redemption, rose on the third day, loosening the bonds (of death): ascended up into heaven, sat on the right hand of his good Father on high, and cometh again to judge the living and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom? And dost thou believe in the Holy good Spirit and quickener, who wholly purifieth, *and* in the Holy Church?"

Let him again say: "I believe."

[1] And let them go up out of the water, and the Presbyter shall anoint him with the oil of thanksgiving, saying: "I anoint thee with holy oil of anointing, in the name of Jesus Christ." Thus he shall anoint every one of the rest, and clothe them as the rest, and they shall enter into the Church.

[2] Let the Bishop lay his hand upon them with affection, saying: "Lord God, as Thou hast made these worthy to receive forgiveness of their sins in the world to come, make them worlater than than the general baptismal pledge; but earlier than the incorporation of these particularities into the general creed, as second and third Articles.

[1] Anointment (on the head) with the oil of thanksgiving, after the immersion. This anointment is preceded by a solemn prayer of blessing.

[2] The prayer of blessing over the baptized and anointed: the only formulary of prayer in this collection.

thy to be filled with Thy Holy Spirit, and send down upon them Thy grace, that they may serve Thee according to Thy will, for Thine is the glory of the Father, and of the Son; and of the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, now and always, and for ever and ever." And he shall pour the oil of thanksgiving into his hand, and lay it upon his head, saying: "I anoint thee with the holy oil of anointing, from God the Father Almighty, and Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit." [1] And he shall seal upon his forehead, saluting him.

[2] And he shall say: "The Lord be with thee." He who has been sealed shall answer: "And with thy Spirit." Each one doing thus with the remaining. And let all the people pray together. And all those who receive baptism shall pray. Let them say, "Peace," with their mouths.

[3] Let the Deacons bring the Eucharist to the Bishop, and he shall give thanks over the bread, because of the similitude of the flesh (σάρξ) of Christ; and over the cup of wine, because it is the blood of Christ, which was poured out for every one who believeth on him; and over the milk and honey mixed, for the fulfilling of the promises to the

[1] The first kiss of peace.

[2] Then follows, immediately, the admission to the first communion. The baptized makes the responses, as a member of the congregation, and, as it were, its representative on this occasion. They say even the episcopal "Peace!"

[3] The offering (oblatio) of bread, wine, milk, and honey, brought before the Bishop, who says grace over them (thanksgiving), and explains the meaning.

Fathers, because he hath said: "I will give you a land flowing with milk and honey." This is the flesh of Christ, which was given for us, that those who believe on him should be nourished by it as infants; that bitterness of heart may be dissipated by the sweetness of the word. All these things the Bishop shall discourse to those who shall receive baptism.

[1] And when the Bishop has divided the bread, let him give a portion to each of them, saying: "This is the bread of heaven, the body of Christ Jesus." Let him who receives it answer: "Amen."

[1] The giving of the bread to the baptized.

[2] And if there be no other Presbyters there, let the Deacons take the cup and stand in order, that they may give them the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord, [3] and the milk, and the honey. Let him who giveth the cup say: "This is the blood of Christ Jesus our Lord;" and he who receives it shall answer: "Amen."

[2] The distribution of the cup to the baptized, by the Presbyters and Deacons.

[3] The milk and the honey are given to them at the same time with the cup.

[4] And when these things have been done, let every one hasten to do all good things, and to please God, and take care to live in integrity, being diligent in the Church, doing those things which they have been taught,

[4] He is thus received into communion with Christ and his Church, and is now exhorted to live according to his confession and pledge.

proceeding in the service of God.

[1] But these things have been delivered to you briefly, with regard to the Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, inasmuch as you have been completely instructed concerning the resurrection of the flesh and all the remaining things, as it is written.

And if there be any other thing which it becomes us to make known, let the Bishop declare it diligently to those who shall receive baptism. But let not the unbelieving know, but him only who shall first receive baptism. This is the signet[2] which John said hath a new name written on it, which no one knoweth but him who shall receive the signet. Can. 46.

[1] This sentence is unintelligible in Tattam's translation, who places a full stop after "Holy Eucharist," and then continues in a new sentence: "And since they have ceased instructing you," &c.

[2] Tattam: "white stone." It is an allusion to the Apocalypse.

C. *On the Partaking of Bread and Wine in the Church, and on the Love-feasts* (Ἀγάπαι). Can. 47—52.

(21.) 16. [3] The Bishop must always be ready to eat the bread, if any one express a wish "to have something in the church." Whereas, all others may fast when they will, he, the Bishop, is unable to fast except on a general fast-day. He will eat the bread, and the rest of the faithful with him. "Let them receive from the hand of the

[3] Original and primitive. It shows the custom of the time of the Apostles. As to the Love-feasts, they are supposed to take place in a private house. The Bishop or another member of the clergy being generally present, every one brings his own portion (as συμβολή) with him. But, besides these Love-feasts, simple bread and wine, with thanksgiving, may be any day taken in the church, under the presidency of the Bishop. Every body is supposed

Bishop a portion of the same bread, before each one shall divide the bread which is for him: for this is a blessing, and not a thanksgiving like the body of the Lord." (47.) Before they drink they must say grace over the cup (εὐχαριστεῖν). The catechumens receive also bread and wine, but separately; the bread they receive is called "the bread of exorcism." (48, 49.) [1][But they are not to partake of the Lord's Supper with the faithful.] "Let every one eat and drink with moderation. If they have given thee all the portions together, thou shalt come bearing thy part alone. And when you have been called to eat, you shall eat only what sufficeth you; that what remains may be disposed of by him who has called you, as he pleases, so that it remains for the saints[2], and he will rejoice in your entering in unto him."

Either the Bishop or one of the clergy is supposed to be present at such a dinner (δεῖπνον), and in that case blesses those who are present: laymen may also preside, but not give the blessing: but every one prays for himself. If there be Widows ministering to a clergyman, they may come with him, and are to be sent home early. If the clergyman be prevented from attend-

to give thanks himself before he eats. Only the celebration of the communion of the body and blood has become separated from this eating of bread and wine, and from those Love-feasts. That separation took place very early, most likely in St. John's time. (See "Theses on the Eucharist.")

[1] A clause inserted to prevent misunderstandings, when the custom had become obsolete. The next treats of the Agapes as meals.

[2] Faithful; Tattam, for "the holy."

ing, let him give them bread to eat, and some wine at home. Can. 50—52.

D. *On the First-fruits and their Blessing.*

(22.) 17. [1] Of grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, plums, apples, peaches, cherries, and almonds, the first-fruits are to be given to the Bishop, who blesses them: of flowers, only the rose and lily. Can. 53—54.

[1] Quite original, primitive, and national: Compare Apll. Constt. book IV. No. 8., and book VIII. ch. xviii.

E. *On the Fast before Easter.*

(23.) 18. [2] Let every one take care not to celebrate the Passover before the proper time (after the equinox), otherwise he would infringe the fast. If any be unable to fast two days, let him fast on the sabbath (Easter-eve). If any one be at sea, and does not know the time of Easter, let him keep his fast (in the week) after Pentecost. Can. 55.

[2] An original but obscure form of enjoining the fast before Easter. The quadragesimal fast (which the Greek Constitutt. prescribe, book v. No. 13., book VII. No. 3.) is not mentioned, but a rigid fast before Easter is certain. The one after Pentecost (which is named in the passage of the fifth book) is expressly alluded to. The drift of the whole is to make a contrast to the Jewish celebration on the 14th Nisan, whether on a Sunday or another day, and whether the equinox was past or not. Each may therefore be in the first or in "the second" month mentioned in the canon, viz. April.

F. *On the Visitation of the Sick by the Bishop.*

(24.) 19. [3] The Deacons [and Subdeacons] are to inform him of the sick persons in the con-

[3] This regulation also supposes that the Bishop is the rector of a town or borough.

gregation, that he may console them by his visit. Can. 56.

G. *On the early Morning Prayer, and Meeting.*

(25.) 20. [1]*Prayer at rising.*— The believers ought to pray before they go to their work: if they can hear a word of instruction before they begin their work, let them go to it. Can. 57.

[1] Almost identical with canon 62.

(26.) 21. *On the Partaking of the Eucharist before eating anything else.*

[2] Let every believer hasten to partake of the Eucharist before tasting of any other thing. [For, to those who are believers in it, if any one shall give, at the time of receiving it, deadly poison, it shall have no power over him.] (58.) Let no unbeliever or animal eat of the body of Christ. (59.) "For if thou hast blessed the cup in the name of God, and hast partaken of it, as of the blood of Christ, keep thyself with the greatest care: spill not of it, lest a strange spirit should lick it up, that God may not be angry with thee, as having despised it, and thou shalt be guilty of the blood of Christ by thy contempt of the price by which thou wast purchased." Can. 60[a].

[2] This is manifestly one of the most ancient canons. It implies the existence of the rite alluded to by Pliny, of which we had previously no direct evidence, except Tertullian's *cœtus antelucani*, the communion of the early Christians at daybreak ("mane"). That the concluding sentence is of later date seems to me undoubted, although it is impossible to prove it: such an application of the words in the addition to St. Mark's Gospel is not primitive. The continuation of this interpolation, which now forms the beginning of canon 60., with the genuine part of which it has nothing to do, betrays its origin still more clearly. The "strange" spirit is, besides, quite Egyptian.

(27) 22. [1]*Duty of Presbyters and Deacons at these early Meetings.*

They are to attend daily at the place of meeting, wherever the Bishop has fixed it: they are to collect all (that is brought for the communion and common meal, and for the poor); "and then, when they have prayed, let each one proceed to the employments appointed him." Can. 60[b].

H. *On Burials.*

(28.) 23. [2]The graves to be dug by the poor, who are to be paid for it. The Bishop is to support those who have the care of the cemeteries. Can. 61.

I. *On Times for Prayer.*[3]

(29.) 24. First, early on rising, after washing of hands before prayer; if possible, in the congregation whenever there is an exhortation.

[4]"It shall be given to him who speaks to declare things useful to every one, and thou shalt hear the things thou thinkest not, and thou shalt profit by those things which the Holy Spirit shall give to thee by the exhortation; and thus thy faith shall be established by those things which thou hast heard. And they shall speak to

[1] The present title of the canon, "Because it is not becoming to pour anything out of the cup," refers to the interpolation, which begins in the preceding section.

Our restoration completes the picture of the most ancient meetings of the Christians at daybreak, and supposes meetings, not in a church as a fixed place, but in private houses (κατ' οἶκον, in the Acts).

[2] Original.

[3] Almost identical with canon 57. in its first part. This is the identical canon which Ps.-Hippolytus and the common Greek text of book VIII. have as an appendix to the canons respecting the catechumens.

[4] What follows is an original Egyptian appendix, entirely different from the style and character of the ancient canons. It is an enlargement upon the concluding words of the old general canon, about the importance of not missing the opportunity of hearing a Christian exhortation or homily.

thee again in that place of those things which it becomes thee to do in thy house. Therefore, let every one hasten to go into the church, the place where the Holy Spirit stirs up."

[1]If there be no exhortation, let every one take a book in his house, and read what is useful.

Bless God at the third hour (9 o'clock, in spring and autumn), at least in the heart: it is the hour at which Christ was nailed to the cross.

Pray again at the sixth hour: the hour when there was darkness.

Pray a solemn prayer at the ninth hour, in which Christ's side was pierced. Pray before going to rest; and if thou awakest, at midnight, washing thy hands. If thy wife be an infidel, pray alone, and return to thy place. [2]"Thou who art bound in marriage, refrain not from prayer, for thou art not defiled. For those who have washed have no need to wash again, for they are purified and are clean. And if thou breathest in thy hand, sealing thyself with the breath which shall come out of thy mouth, thou shalt be all clean down to thy feet, for this is the gift of the Holy Spirit. And the drops of water are the baptismal drops coming up from the fountain,

[1] This enlargement fills six pages, and is probably extracted from an early homily on the subject of the Alexandrian school, tinged with the natural mysticism of the East, but containing grand and sublime passages. The meditation on the death of Christ, and on the inward religious voice of the human heart and conscience, is the centre of the whole contemplation.

[2] A sublime antithesis to Jewish and Mahommedan ideas of purification: the words, as every one sees, refer to those of Christ to Peter in St. John, at the washing of the feet of the Apostles. What follows about the breath is also taken from St. John, xx. 22. It is mysticism, but such as rests on ethical, not on magical or fetish, ground. The appeal to the majestic worship of nature, praising God in the deep silence of night, is sublime and original. At the end it is said, that whosoever shall follow these traditions of the Apostles will not be seduced. Many doctrines (*αἱρέσεις*, heresies) have gained ground, because

that is, the heart of the believer, purifying him who believeth. It becometh all to pray at that hour (of midnight), for then all creation is silent, praising God." And the Apostles have taught us thus to pray, and Christ saith: "In the middle of the night there was a cry: Behold the bridegroom cometh," &c. Pray, also, if thou rise at cock-crowing, because at that time the children of Israel denied Christ.

Then comes a further scriptural and theological explanation.

Conclusion of the second book, "which is book the third."

those who preside (*προϊστᾶν, οἱ προεστῶτες*, the Bishops, as the rectors of the Churches are often called in the Greek Constitutions) are not willing to learn the doctrine (*αἵρεσιν*) of the Apostles. This also shows the identity of *Διδαχὴ* (or *Διδαχαὶ*) *Ἀποστόλων*, and *Διατάξεις Ἀποστόλων*; because this work is repeatedly called in the text the *Διατάξεις* or *Διαταγαί* of the Apostles.

Book the Third (Fourth). Can. 63.

(Hippolytus) *On the Gifts and Ordinations* (*χαρίσματα καὶ χειροτονίαι*).

[1] On the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the sacred Offices of the Church.

[1] Literal translation of the Introduction to the Constitutions of Pseudo-Hippolytus, and book VIII. of Apll. Constitutions.

Book the Fourth (Fifth). Can. 64—72. (pp. 134—164.)

(30—45.) [2] On the office of Bishop, and on the other Offices of the Church.

[2] Literally agreeing with Apll. Constitutions, book VIII. ch. 2—27.; and therefore in the main also with Ps.-Hippolytus, I.—XVI. It terminates with a provision for the ordination of a Bishop by some one, in extraordinary cases.

Book the Fifth (Sixth). Can. 73—77.

[1] Continuation. (No general title.)

(46.) [2] (Introduction.) "The Bishop blesseth and, is not blessed," &c. Canon 73.

(47.) [3] On first-fruits. Canon 74.

(48.) [4] On the sacred remains of the Eucharist. Canon 75[a].

(49.) [5] On working days and holidays. Canon 75[b].

(50.) [6] On the times and places for prayer. Canon 75[c].

[7] On the commemoration of the Dead. Canon 76[a].

(51.) [8] On the Funeral Meals. Canon 76[b].

[1] All found in the eighth book, according to the purer text.

[2] Apll. Constt. VIII. 28. Ps.-Hippolytus, XVII. (The interpolated chap. 28. is wanting also in the Coptic.)

[3] Apll. Constt. VIII. 30. Ps.-Hippolytus, XVIII. (Text literally agreeing with Ps.-Hippolytus.)

[4] Apll. Constt. VIII. 31. Ps.-Hippolytus, XIX.

[5] Apll. Constt. VIII. 32. Ps.-Hippolytus, XX. (The catechumenic canons of this 20th chapter are those contained in the second book of the Coptic.)

[6] Apll. Constt. VIII. 33. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXI.

Apll. Constt. VIII. 34. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXII. The Coptic considers the whole of canon 75[c]. as relating to the servants: it adds therefore at the end of 75: the canon: that believing men or women cohabiting with slaves must separate from them; a canon which the other collections have not in this place.

[7] Apll. Constt. VIII. 42. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXIII. The Greek canons mention here the third, the ninth, and fortieth day; the Egyptian the seventh and thirtieth, which is evidently provincial.

[8] Apll. Constt. VIII. 43. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXIV. The Coptic text speaks in the first part only of "Presbyters and Deacons;" in the second, "the Bishops and Presbyters" are named as the "chiefs in the Church after God, Christ, and Spirit," as in the Pseudo-

(52.) [1] On those who are persecuted for the Faith, and flee. Canon 77[a].

(53.) [2] That each is to remain in his station. Canon 77 [b].

Hippolytus and the Syrian canons: whereas the common text has here two Presbyters and Deacons.

[1] Apll. Constt. VIII. 44. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXV.

[2] Apll. Constt. VIII. 45. Ps.-Hippolytus, XXVI. (End of Apll. Constt. book VIII. and of Ps.-Hippolytus.)

BOOK THE SIXTH (SEVENTH). Can. 78, 79. (pp. 166—172.)

[3] Canons on the reception, instruction, and initiation of the Catechumens.

[3] The same canons which were given in the second book, only that here the text literally agrees with the Greek.

Apll. Constt. VIII. 32. Ps.-Hippolytus, XX.

BOOK THE SEVENTH (EIGHTH).

The Apostolic Canons of the Eastern Church.

This book contains the 85 Apostolic canons of the Greek Church. As to the second part of this collection (can. 51—85.), the text agrees entirely with the official Greek text. But the former collection, or the part recognized by the Roman Church, has only the first 46 canons; and according to the numbering of the Latin translation of Dionysius Minor. The last four canons of Dionysius are wanting. After canon 46. (Greek text, canon 38.), Penalty against heretical Baptism, follows immediately:

Canon 51. (Greek canon 43.) Againsst abtaining from Marriage, Flesh, Wine, &c.

Canons 47, 48, 49, 50. (Greek 39, 40, 41, 42.) are therefore left out, and are indeed a later addition. Of these the first and last three are against irregularities in conferring baptism, to give additional strength to the prohibition and penalty of canon 46. (38.). Such an addition points to the time of Cyprian, or immediately after him. But the second and still later canon, 48. (40.), is an isolated addition. It is directed against a layman divorcing his wife, or marrying a divorced woman. The awkward place in which it stands shows it to be an

interpolation posterior to the addition of the three baptismal canons; besides it implies the existence of a peculiar marriage law for the clergy. It may therefore have been added in the first quarter of the fourth century, immediately before the Nicene legislation.

RECAPITULATION.

ANALYTICAL TABLE OF THE COPTIC COLLECTION OF APOSTOLICAL ORDINANCES.

Ancient Materials.	Additions of Compiler.
First Book.	
On the Offices and Ministrations of the Church. Can. 15—28.	Ethical introduction on the two ways. Can. 1—14. (Compare the Introduction to Book VII. of the Greek Collection, and the Epistle of Barnabas.)
	Exhortatory conclusion. Can. 29, 30.
Second Book.	
A. On the Ordination and Institution of the Bishops and Elders and the Ministrants of the Church. Can. 31—35.	
(The claims of the Confessors. Can. 34.)	
	The naming of the Subdeacon. Can. 36.
On the naming of Widows and Virgins. Can. 37, 38[a].	
	Additional remark on Virgins. Can. 38[b].
On the Gifts of Healing. Can. 39.	
B. On the first Admission, the Instruction, and Initiation of the Catechumens. Can. 40—46.	
C. On the partaking of Bread and Wine in the Church, and on the Love-feasts. Can. 47—52.	

Ancient Materials.	Additions of Compiler.
D. On the First-fruits and their Blessing. Can. 53, 54.	
E. On the Fast before Easter. Can. 55.	
F. On the Visitation of the Sick by the Bishop. Can. 56.	
G. On the Prayer at rising, and on going to the early Eucharist if possible. Can. 57, 58[a].	Additional admonition not to let an unbeliever or animal eat of the Body, and not to spill the Blood of Christ. Can. 58[b], 59, 60.
Duty of Presbyters and Deacons to attend at these meetings, at the place fixed by the Bishop. Can. 60[b].	
H. On Burials. Can. 61.	
I. On Times for Prayer. Can. 62.	
THIRD BOOK.	On the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the Sacred Offices of the Church. Introduction to the Greek Book VIII. (Ps.-Hippol.) Can. 63.
FOURTH BOOK.	
On Bishops and other Officers of the Church. (Book VIII. ch. 1—xvi. in the purer text.) Can. 72.	
FIFTH BOOK.	This Book corresponds entirely with Chapters XVII. to XXVI. of the purer Greek text of the Eighth Book: only the great body of ch. xx. is here left out, and forms by itself the next book.
General character of the different clerical Offices. Can. 73.	
On First-fruits. Can. 74.	

Ancient Materials.

On the sacred Remains. Can. 75[a].

On the Work-days and Holidays. Can. 75[b].

On the times and places for Prayer. Can. 75[c].

On the commemoration of the Dead. Can. 76[a].

On the Funeral Meals. Can. 76[b].

On those who are persecuted for the Faith. Can. 77[a].

On good Order (every one to attend to his business). Can. 77[b].

SIXTH BOOK.

On the first admission, the instruction, and the initiation of the Catechumens. (Ch. xx. of VIIIth Book of the purer Greek text.) Can. 78, 79.

SEVENTH BOOK.

Contains *the Canons* of the Greek Church.

RESULT.

The Apostolic Constitutions of the Coptic Church represent two elements.

The one is substantially original: it is peculiar to the Church of Alexandria, and bears, in part, a very primitive character. The other agrees literally, or almost literally, with the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, but according to the purer text, as represented by the Oxford and Vienna MSS.

The memorable section regarding the Catechumens partakes of both. It exists in a double recension: the first, in the second book, has many interesting peculiarities; the second, which now constitutes the sixth book, agrees literally with the Greek text.

The original parts are all in the first two books, which afterwards must have been counted as three, probably subsequently to the insertion of liturgical formularies, after the chapter on the ordination of the Bishops, in the beginning of the second book. Books III. IV. V. agree with that part of the eighth book which treats on Ordinations and Ecclesiastical Offices (the Hippolytean portion). Book VI. gives the chapters of the second book on Catechumens, as it stands in our Greek text. Book VII. contains the 85 Canons of the Apostles. The whole consists, therefore, of three independent collections, as the subjoined general view will show.

A. *The Original Collection.* Books I. II.

Book I.

(Ethical Introduction of the Compiler.)

Offices and Ministrations of the Church.

Book II.

A. On the Institution of the Bishops and Elders, and the Ministrants of the Church.

B. On Catechumens.

C. On the partaking of Bread and Wine in the Church, and on the Love-Feasts.

D. On the First-fruits and their blessing.

E. On the Fast before Easter.

F. On the Visitation of the Sick by the Bishop.
G. On the early Morning Prayer and Meeting.
H. On Burials.
I. On times for Prayer.

B. *The Collection corresponding to the Eighth Greek Book.* Books III.—VI.

Book III. (Hippolytus.) On the Gifts and Ordinations.
Books IV. V. On Bishops and on the other Officers of the Church.
Book VI. On the Catechumens.

C. *The Canons of the Apostles.* Book VII.

The division into eight books is entirely arbitrary: which proves, however, that, at the time when the compilation received its present form, the division of the Ordinances of the Apostles into eight books had become conventional, and, as it were, typical in the Eastern Churches.

The progressive numeration of the ordinances themselves is still more arbitrary, and different in different manuscripts. In one case, a whole book forms one ordinance, or canon, but is indeed no ordinance whatever: for it contains a treatise, or homily. In the Coptic MS. the numeration ceases with can. 39., which terminates section A. in Book II. The following numeration is taken from the Sahidic manuscript:

The number of real canons, that is to say, distinct ordinances, amounts to about 50, or the original number of the "Canons of the Apostles;" and, even if the small paragraphs in the regulations respecting the Catechumens be counted singly, not to 80; and is, therefore, under the number of the Greek "Canons of the Apostles."

FIFTH CHAPTER.

THE UNPUBLISHED APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

THROUGH the kindness of the Rev. W. Cureton, I have before me the translation of the Syrian Τάξεις, or Ordinances, as they are styled. These Canons are contained in one of the precious manuscripts of the Libyan Convent; it is numbered 12,155. among the additional manuscripts of the British Museum. This manuscript begins with a treatise entitled, "A Table of the Demonstrations of the Holy Fathers against various Heresies." Severus, the learned bishop of Antioch in the first quarter of the sixth century, is often quoted in it. Then follows a canonical collection headed: "Collection of all the Canons of the Holy Apostles, and of the sacred Fathers." Our Canons, under the title, "Τάξεις of the Holy Apostles by Hippolytus," begin at p. 196.

This collection of the Apostolic Constitutions is followed by the Canons of the Councils, and, in the first place, by "The Definitions (ὅροι, canons) of the Great and Holy Synod of the 318 Bishops, which assembled at Nicæa, a city of Bithynia, in the year 636 of the æra of Alexander (A.D. 325)."

The Apostolic Constitutions represent, therefore, also in this collection of canons, the ante-Nicene Regulations and Ordinances respecting ecclesiastical discipline and customs. The same arrangement is found in the Baroccian MS. of the Bodleian library, from which Grabe copied the collection of canons the beginning of which we have found connected with the name of Hippolytus, and which exhibits a purer text of the eighth book of our Greek Constitutions.

We have already shown how much more lucid and intelligible the original composition of this eighth book becomes, as soon as we expunge the chapters which are found only in our present Greek text, as later interpolations. They interrupt the natural order of the matters treated of, just as their contents bear the evident character of a later period.

This view is remarkably confirmed by the critical comparison of the two Greek texts with the Syrian Collection.

This collection contains, in our MS., thirty-seven canons. But, if we look to the contents themselves, we are easily enabled to divide it into six parts of very different extent. The first five chapters contain the real ordinances, the sixth is a concluding general admonition. The five chapters correspond, in general, to the present Greek text of the eighth book, from chapter 27. to the end (chap. 46.), but, as we shall see, in a somewhat different order; and to sections XVI. to XXVII. in the purer text.

The Syrian Church, therefore, ignores, not only the introductory treatise on the Charismata, which we believe to be copied or extracted from Hippolytus, but also the regulations respecting the election and ordination of the bishops, and the ordinations and appointments to the other offices of the Church, which occupy the preceding paragraphs of the eighth book. It is scarcely necessary to say, that it repudiates the interpolation of the liturgy, which, in the present text of the eight books, separates the regulations respecting the bishop, and those regarding the other officers.

As to what follows, the relation of the Syrian and the Greek texts is the following: —

Syrian Text.	Greek Texts.	
	The Oxford and Vienna Text.	The Text of Book VIII.
A. *On the Officers of the Church and their maintenance.*		
Canon		
1. A Bishop to be ordained by two or three Bishops.	XVI.	Ch. 27.
2–9. The distinct functions of the different officers of the Church. "The Bishop blesseth, and is not blessed," &c.	XVII.	Ch. 28. [Ch. 29. for blessing water and oil.]
10, 11. The part of the Clergy in first-fruits, tithe, and the sacred remains	XVIII. XIX. (XX. is that regarding the Catechumens.)	Ch. 30, 31.
B. *Rules for domestic Christian life and domestic relations.*		
12. The faithful man and woman, when risen in the morning, and having	XXI.	Ch. 32. (The end: the preceding part of the chapter con-

Syrian Text.	Greek Texts.	
Canon	The Oxford and Vienna Text.	The Text of Book VIII.
washed, are to pray at home, unless they can hear the word preached.		tains the regulations on the Catechumens.)
13. They are to behave kindly to their servants.	XXII.	
14. The servants are to work five days in the week.	XXIII.	Ch. 33.
15. The times for saying prayers.	XXIV.	Ch. 34. [Ch. 35. 41. Forms of prayers.]
16. The faithful not to pray together with the Catechumens.		
17. A faithful male and female slave living together, are to marry or to separate.		
C. *Ordination respecting the commemoration of the dead and funeral meals:*	XXV.	Ch. 42, 43.
18. The days of commemoration.		
19. Funeral meals: the *presbyters and deacons*, as the highest authorities in the Church, after God and Christ, are to be models of temperance.		Ch. 44.
20. D. *On the duties towards those who are persecuted for the faith.*	XXVI.	Chap. 45.
E. *On good order in the Church.*		
21, 22. Every one to do the duties of his office, and not to entrench upon those of others. (Instead of Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἡμῶν, the Syrian text has, "of Christ and our God." At the end, where in the Greek texts Melchisedec and Job are named as priests without human ordination, the Syrian text reads "Melchisedec and *Jacob*," evidently an error.)	XXVII.	Ch. 46. (End of the Greek text)

Syrian Text.	Greek Texts.	
Canon	The Oxford and Vienna Text.	The Text of Book VIII.
F. *On the reception, instruction, and initiation of the Catechumens.*		
23 — 37. Corresponding, with a slight transposition of phrase in the 30th Canon, verbally with - - - - - Ending with the beautiful sentence : "If the teacher be even a layman, but one who knows the doctrine, and is grave in his character, let him teach : for 'they shall be all taught of God.'" (John, vi. 45.)	XX.	Ch. 32.

We see clearly that the section on the Catechumens, which bears so distinct a character of antiquity and genuineness, must have existed separately. This is the explanation of its being placed differently in collections which, otherwise, have their common materials placed in the same order.

A second consequence to be drawn from this comparison is, that the Syrian Collection must have been made at an earlier time than even the purer Greek, or from an earlier collection. The whole first part of the ordinances of the eighth book is intimately and directly connected with the introductory treatise of Hippolytus on the same subject. The Syrian Collection, which is unacquainted with the extract from Hippolytus, is equally ignorant of this corresponding series of ordinances.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

THE (UNPUBLISHED) APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS OF THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH.*

Ludolf published, in his commentary to the work on Abyssinia, a general account of the old canonical collections of the Church of that country. It is known that this offshoot of the Alexandrian Church was planted in the latter part of the fourth century, and received its final organization in the fifth. In comparing these collections with the Greek text, we find that they contain, first, the 85 canons, which here are divided into 56 paragraphs. Then follow the "Apostolic Precepts," which are those contained in the Coptic, although with some special differences. Of these, the most remarkable is in the place where the newly ordained bishop is ordered to say, after the Preface (Sursum corda, &c.), the "prayers following these, according to the form of the Holy Communion." In our Coptic text, nothing is said respecting this form. But the Abyssinian text has here a liturgy, so short, and so different from the type of the fifth century, beyond which our present complete liturgies of the Oriental Church do not go down, that its relatively higher antiquity cannot be doubted.†

The copy made for Ludolf out of the great and most important Abyssinian MS., now in the Vatican library, which contains the complete collection of the canonical books of Abyssinia, stops short only two paragraphs beyond this Order of the Communion, which forms the 21st canon, or paragraph. It therefore gives us only the first 33 paragraphs of the Coptic text published by Tattam.

Then follow the "Canons of Abulides," which is the name of Hippolytus in Abyssinia, as their calendar shows. He is there named "Bishop of Rome, and Doctor of the Church."

* The Æthiopic text of the first Six Books of the Apostolical Constitutions, published by the learned Thomas Pell Platt (The Æthiopic Didascalia. London. 1834), is a translation from the Arabic version of the vulgar Greek text. (See Boetticher's Preface to Analecta II. p. 36. foll.)—1854.

† See the Introductory Dissertation to the third Volume of the Analecta, pp. 16, 17. 21—23. The text itself is given in that volume, pp. 103—126.—1854.

There can now be no longer any doubt as to the originality of this part of the Abyssinian Collection, although at first sight the title of "Canons of Abulides" might render it probable that they were another version of the same original text as the Syrian, which bears the name of Hippolytus. Indeed, the number of the chapters is almost the same. But we have seen how arbitrary and whimsical this numeration is. Moreover, the comparison of the titles of the first fifteen Ethiopic canons with the Syrian Collection shows, that, if they represent any series of the Eastern Churches, it cannot be that of Antioch. If they correspond with any other collection, this can only be that first part of the eighth book which is, as we just have seen, unknown to the Syrian canons.

We exhibit, first, the titles as given by Ludolf: for, unfortunately, he has contented himself with translating these titles from the French of Vansleb.

Ethiopic Canons of Abulides.

1. De sancta fide Jesu Christi.
2. De ordinatione Episcopi.
3. De orationibus quæ dicuntur super episcopis ordinandis, et de ordine Missæ.
4. De ordinatione Presbyterorum.
5. De ordinatione Diaconorum.
6. De iis qui persecutionem propter fidem patiuntur.
7. De electione Anagnostæ et Subdiaconi.
8. De dono sanandi.
9. De Presbytero, qui in loco muneri suo non convenienti manet.
10. De iis, qui se ad religionem Christianam convertunt.
11. De eo qui idola fabricat.
12. Studia varia enumerantur, quorum cultores ad religionem Christianam ante pœnitentiam factam, admittendi sunt.
13. De loco quem summi reges aut principes tenebunt in templo.
14. Quod Christianis non conveniat arma ferre.
15. De opificiis quæ Christianis illicita sunt.
16. De Christiano qui servam matrimonio sibi jungit.
17. De fœmina libera.
18. De Obstetrice; et quod fœminæ debeant esse separatæ ab hominibus in oratione.

19. De Catechumeno qui Martyrium aut Baptismum patitur.
20. De Jejunio feriæ quartæ et sextæ et de quadragesimæ.
21. Presbyteros una cum populo quotidie in Ecclesia convenire debere.
22. De Hebdomade Paschatis Judæorum; et de eo qui Pascha non novit.
23. Unumquemque teneri *Doctrinam* addiscere.
24. De cura Episcopi in ægrotos.
25. De eo cui injuncta est cura ægrotorum; et de tempore quo orationes peragendæ.
26. De tempore quo exhortationes audiendæ.
27. De eo qui singulis diebus templum frequentat.
28. Fideles nihil comedere oportere ante Sanctam Communionem.
29. Bene observandum esse ne quidquam de calice in terram cadat.
30. De Catechumenis.
31. Diaconum Eucharistiam cum permissione Episcopi aut Presbyteri populo administrare posse.
32. Viduas atque virgines assidue orare oportere.
33. Mortuorum fidelium commemorationem singulis diebus faciendam, excepta die Dominica.
34. De modestia secularium in Ecclesia.
35. Diaconos Benedictionem et Gratias dicere posse in Agapis, cum Episcopus præsens non est.
36. De Primitiis terræ; et de Votis.
37. Cum Episcopus S. Synaxin celebrat, Presbyteri illi assistentes Alba vestiti esse debent.
38. Neminem dormire debere nocte Resurrectionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

In comparing these canons with those of the purer text of the eighth book, the *first* section evidently comprises canons 1—9. These treat on the ecclesiastical offices, and apparently in an order analogous to that exhibited in Pseudo-Hippolytus, canons I.—XVII.; only that the ordinances respecting the ordination of the Subdeacon —a later interpolation— are not found in the Ethiopic series.

The *second* section (canons 10—19.) contains, evidently, regulations respecting the admittance, institution, and instruction of the Catechumens. The 13th canon, "On the place where the highest

Kings are to be seated in the Temple," betrays the interpolation, as much by the contents, as by the place.

As to the Catechumenic Canons, there seem to be two sets. The first, from canon 10. to 15., appears to be identical with, or at least must be analogous to, that remarkable chapter on the subject which all other collections exhibit. Canons 16. to 18. may be quite alien to the subject, and, in that case, are an interpolation; for canon 19., "On a Catechumen who suffers martyrdom before baptism". (blood-baptism), belongs to the canons regarding Catechumens or Martyrs. One of the same title is found in the fifth book of our Greek Constitutions.

The remaining canons (20—38.) seem to have originally formed one series, the *third*, the general character of which may be termed ecclesiastical; for whatever else is contained in them bears the character of a later insertion.

Canons 20—22. On the fast-days, daily meetings, and celebration of Easter.

Canon 23., apparently an interpolation, enjoins every one to learn the doctrine (Διδαχή), evidently these very canons.

The 24th canon, and the first part of the 25th, treat of the care of the sick. We see here how whimsical and fallacious the division of the paragraphs and the numeration of the canons are: for the second part of the paragraph numbered 25, attaching itself to canon 22., begins a long series of regulations concerning worship.

We may, therefore, safely assert that canon 24., and the first part of 25., are an intrusion in this place, that is to say, an awkwardly placed addition to a series of ritual regulations which go down to canon 32.

Canon 33. treats of the commemoration of the dead, on all days, Sundays excepted.

The remaining canons regard, likewise, regulations respecting the ceremonial, and devout and decent way of conducting the service: only canon 36. treats of first-fruits and vows, in an apparently disconnected manner; and the 37th canon is an evidently more modern regulation, merely ceremonial, in the sense of the later Church.

Thus much we may therefore say, in summing up the observations suggested by the titles, that these Abyssinian Canons, although they must be of Alexandrian origin, are entirely distinct from the Coptic

compilation, which, moreover, formed an integral part of the Abyssinian code. There are only the first two sections (on the Ecclesiastical Offices, and on the Catechumens) which may have the same text as the corresponding sections in Coptic and Greek. But there must have been, already, in the third century, numerous compilations under that conventional title of fiction in the different Churches of the East: and why should one and the same Church, as the Alexandrian for instance, not have different collections coexisting, to be used *ad libitum*, for the practical purposes for which they were read and given to be read, and as records of antiquity, each containing some relics which were peculiar to it?

It is a real scandal, that no scholar since Ludolf, and no Church has realized the earnest wish of that excellent and honest inquirer, that the whole text of the canonical collection should be copied and translated.

I have before me the translation of the first four canons, made at my request by Dr. Steinschneider, who is now occupied with a learned catalogue of the Hebrew manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. This scholar, celebrated for his vast knowledge of Jewish literature, had the kindness, before leaving Oxford, to send me this specimen of a translation of the Baroccian Arabic manuscript mentioned by Beveridge, and containing the Ethiopic Canons. There is, besides the Bodleian codex, another manuscript of this Arabic translation in the British Museum, but very illegibly written. The Rev. W. Cureton has collated Dr. Steinschneider's translation with this text, and I give it according to his revision.

The first paragraph is, as the title indicates, an introduction in praise of Christ; original, but of no interest.

Canon II.

Of the Bishops.

The Bishop is to be elected by all the people. He must be without blame, as it is written in the Apostle. Then, in the week before the ordination, if all the people say of him, We choose him, they shall pray over him, and say: O God, show thy love to him whom Thou hast prepared for us. And they shall choose one of the Bishops and one of the Presbyters, and these shall lay their hand upon his head, and pray.

Canon III.

Prayer on the ordination of a Bishop, and the way of celebrating the Communion.

Canon IV.

Of the Ordination of a Presbyter.

In the ordination of a Presbyter, every thing is to be done to him as in the ordination of a Bishop, with the exception of placing him on the cathedra: and they shall pray over him all the prayers of the Bishop, only omitting the name of Bishop: for the Bishop differs from the Presbyter, only by the dignity of the cathedra, and of the ordination; for the Presbyter has not given to him the power of ordination.

The first section, therefore, has, textually, nothing in common with the corresponding section in the Coptic Canons.

As to the chapters respecting the admission of Catechumens (can. 10—15.), the Rev. W. Cureton has, at my request, most kindly examined the Arabic manuscript of the British Museum before alluded to (Cod. Rich. 7,211.), in order to decide the question, whether this important section exhibits or not that ancient series of regulations which we find in all other collections. The research has confirmed the conjecture which I had formed on the subject. The chapter in question agrees essentially with that section.

Among the following canons, the 20th and 21st might, according to their titles, seem to refer to the two subjects which Jerome says were treated by Hippolytus: the Fasting on Saturday (as vigil), and the daily Communion. But Mr. Cureton's researches have proved that the first simply treats of the fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and in Lent, and the second treats of the daily meetings. Their text is as follows: —

Canon XX.

Touching fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and on the Days of Fast (Lent).

He who does more than this shall receive his reward; and he who transgresses this, except from illness or some urgent necessity, exceeds the canon and opposes God.

Canon XXI.

Touching the Assembling of the Priests and the People in the Church every day.

The Presbyters shall assemble in the church every day, and the Subdeacons and the Readers, and all the people, at the time of the cock-crowing, and they shall pray, and sing psalms, and read the Scriptures. . . . . And whosoever of the clergy shall be too late if not being too far distant, let him be put aside.

The twenty-second canon treats, most probably, on the celebration of the Pascha, in the sense of the other canons now extant, that is to say, with an anti-Judaic tendency. But this canon is quite illegible in the MS. of the British Museum.

The question then arises, why the canons should be called the Canons of Hippolytus.

Here two answers may be given. They might bear that name either because they correspond, although with a textual difference, with the eighth book of our Constitutions, which opens by regulations respecting the ecclesiastical offices, and in general the whole ceremonial law, like the later *Pontificale;* a subject which Hippolytus had been the first to treat philosophically, and with learning and authority: or because they contain in other parts some articles laid down by Hippolytus in his work on the Charismata. This applies, for instance, to the 27th canon, which treats on the daily communion. We know from Jerome, as has been proved above, that this very same point had been treated by Hippolytus.

I cannot conclude these remarks without expressing the hope, that this interesting collection may soon be published, either from the Arabic or Abyssinian text, if possible as part of that general critical edition of all such collections for which I have endeavoured in these chapters to pave the way.

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